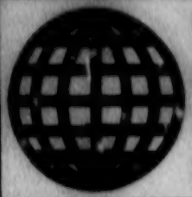


JPRS-TAC-94-001
18 January 1994



FOREIGN
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JPRS Report

Arms Control

Arms Control

JPRS-TAC-94-001

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BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Muslims Fire Chlorine-Charged Missiles on Croat Villages

LD0312000493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Text] The Muslim Army fired chlorine-charged missiles and other toxic shells on Grbavica and Ponjave in the Vitez municipality this afternoon, HBNA [Herzeg-Bosna News Agency] reports.

A number of people requested medical help after being affected by giddiness, suffocation, and vomiting, the same source says.

CZECH REPUBLIC

Army Presents Data on Compliance With CFE

AU1412082293 Prague CTK in English
1618 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Prague, Dec 13 (CTK)—A total of 492 tanks, 499 armored cars, 621 guns, and 25 combat aircraft have been destroyed during the first stage of the implementation of the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) treaty, the Defense Ministry Press Office told CTK today.

This list includes the relative part of equipment (100 tanks, 52 armored cars, 131 guns, and 4 combat aircraft) destroyed prior to December 31, 1992, in the former Federal (Czechoslovak) Army.

According to the timetable of the former Czechoslovak Army, the decrease in equipment and arms was divided into three periods: (I) July 17, 1992 to November 13, 1993, (II) November 14, 1993, to November 13, 1994, and (III) November 14, 1994, to November 13, 1995. By the latter date, the stipulated levels are to be achieved.

In addition to the decrease in equipment and arms, the Czech Army has conducted this year eight inspections of superfluous equipment and arms in Belgium, Denmark, Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, Great Britain, and U.S. Army facilities in Germany.

Altogether 13 inspections, focused on the proper technological implementation of the destruction of superfluous military equipment and technology as well as on checking the quantity of the destroyed arms, were conducted by Czech

Army officials in Hungary, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Italy, Romania, and Greece.

At the same time, eight inspections of specified places and 67 inspections supervising the liquidation of superfluous arms were carried out in the Czech Republic. Inspection teams from Canada, Hungary, Portugal, Romania, and Great Britain were involved in them.

The Czech Army's superfluous arms and technology is stored in Holyšov, west Bohemia, Jihlava, south Moravia, Felbabka, central Bohemia, Libava, north Moravia, Jaromer, east Bohemia and Terezin, central Bohemia.

The CFE, signed in Paris in 1990, has stipulated a maximum level of 957 tanks, 1,367 armored cars, 767 guns, 230 combat aircraft, and 50 combat helicopters for the Czech Republic.

HUNGARY

Tanks Destroyed To Comply With International Accord

AU2112133093 Budapest MTI in English
1210 GMT 21 Dec 93

[Text] Budapest, 21 Dec (MTI)—The first stage of destroying conventional weapons under a European agreement ended at Godollo today in the presence of an international military observer group.

Deputy State Secretary of Defence Zoltan Pecze told the press that the 34 signatories to the 1991 European agreement on the elimination of conventional arms agreed to destroy part of their armaments by 1994 so as to reduce the danger of war, prevent the senseless arms race, and build mutual confidence.

The agreement obliges Hungary to destroy 510 tanks, 65 armoured vehicles, and 207 artillery pieces. Curuss Rt, a Godollo-based company commissioned to carry out the task, has so far destroyed 139 tanks, 89 armoured vehicles and 56 artillery pieces. Cut up with oxy-acetylene torches, sections are sold as scrap to metal dealers.

The foreign delegation composed of U.S., British, Spanish, and Belgian officers supervised the cutting up of 14 tanks.

Some countries are obliged to destroy fighter planes and helicopters, too. This obligation, though, does not apply to Hungary whose stock of this category of military equipment remains below internationally agreed limits.

ALGERIA

Intention To Join Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
LD2112154593 Algiers Radio Algiers Network in Arabic
1200 GMT 21 Dec 93

[Text] Algeria has announced today its intention to join the international non-proliferation treaty. This announcement came on the occasion of the inauguration of El-Salam nuclear reactor at Ain Oussera. More details with Ahmed Khida:

Khida: First, we stress that Foreign Affairs Minister Salah Dembri officially declared today in three languages Algeria's intention to join the international nuclear non-proliferation treaty. He was third to speak at the inauguration ceremony of the diplomatic missions—which were all invited, and most of whom attended—and before international and national journalists.

Dembri: Therefore, I officially announce today—in the name of the highest authorities in the country—our intention to join the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

Khida: Therefore, after the El-Nour nuclear reactor in Algiers, with its weak one MW capacity, another nuclear reactor was officially inaugurated in Ain Oussera, Djelfa Province. It is called the El-Salam reactor and has a capacity of 15 thermal MW. The inauguration coincided with the 35th anniversary of establishing Algerian-Chinese relations in 1958. This reactor was the product of Chinese companies. The representatives stressed ongoing Algerian-Chinese cooperation and revealed that IAEA experts had visited the Ain Oussera nuclear reactor many times during the stages of its construction, and they had become convinced that this achievement was for purely peaceful purposes of research.

For his part, Algeria's Foreign Minister Dembri said that the El-Salam reactor had (?accepted) at the Algerian Government's request to meet the guarantees of the IAEA.

National Education Minister Ahmed Jebbar, who was the first to speak, stressed that the construction of the El-Salam nuclear reactor was a logical culmination of the considerable efforts exerted over 20 years in training, science, and technology.

Therefore, this new nuclear reactor is aimed at nuclear research, which has become a major component of all systems. The research to be carried out by this new reactor concerns the fields of medicine, X-ray treatment, and research development in the fields of agriculture and industry.

Finally, we record the absence of the general director of the IAEA, Mr. [Hans] Blix, who on this occasion sent a message to the Algerian Government in which he stressed his belief that this new achievement constitutes an important landmark in the development of nuclear research and control technology.

EGYPT

Mideast Countries Urged To Get Rid of Nuclear Weapons

NC1812143393 Cairo Arab Republic of Egypt Radio
Network in Arabic 1240 GMT 18 Dec 93

[Commentary by Ahmad al-Qasir: "The World Community Unanimously Endorsed Egypt's Call To Free the Middle East of Nuclear Weapons"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The world community showed its appreciation for Egypt's role and continuous efforts to safeguard world peace when the UN General Assembly unanimously backed Egypt's draft resolution to free the Middle East of nuclear weapons. The resolution called on all countries concerned to join the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty and to place their nuclear weapons under the supervision of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

What makes this important step for consolidating world peace in this sensitive part of the world more significant is that the approval of Egypt's proposal to free the Middle East of nuclear weapons was coupled with another resolution, which Egypt voted for, on Israel's nuclear weapons. The resolution called directly on Israel to renounce the possession of nuclear weapons and join the nonproliferation treaty.

Egypt's call, which was backed by the UN General Assembly, was not born accidentally or imposed by certain circumstances. It stemmed from the Egyptian leadership's firm belief that world peace is indivisible and that it is high time to end the state of armed struggle in the Middle East so that the people may give more attention to economic and social development to create a better tomorrow for future generations. [passage omitted]

The UN General Assembly's resolution calling for freeing the Middle East of nuclear weapons is a practical way to help promote the ongoing peace efforts exerted by the international community. It will prevent those countries that possess nuclear weapons from threatening their neighbors and imposing their will on them. It will also prevent other countries from attempting to obtain these destructive weapons in a bid to ward off the nuclear threat against them. In addition, it will help put the brakes on all types of arms races by the region's countries and eliminate all potential hazards that may result from radiation in the densely populated Middle East region. More importantly, the resolution paves the way for the disputing parties to regain confidence in each other, which would ultimately help them meet half way to achieve a just peace that guarantees the legitimate rights of all the region's countries.

Egypt's call to free the Middle East of nuclear weapons is a new addition to the extensive efforts that President Mubarak has been exerting for years to promote peace between the Arabs and Israel at the international level. At the same time, it affirms Egypt's deep belief in the strategy of peace as the only way for reaching an understanding among the region's countries and highlights the need for all countries in the region not to violate it, regardless of the excuses they use as a facade. Through the United Nations, Egypt has opened the door for all regional countries to prove their goodwill and seriousness in their quest for peace and to

get rid of nuclear weapons. When will the regional countries that possess nuclear weapons respond to the world community's peaceful call?

INDIA

Rao Comments on Chemical Weapons Convention

*BK2412125493 Delhi All India Radio Network in English
1230 GMT 24 Dec 93*

[Text] The prime minister has said that the chemical weapons convention is a great step in the direction of

disarmament and the most important pillar of any disarmament process is verification. Chairing the Consultative Committee meeting of the Ministry of Chemicals and Fertilizers in New Delhi, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao said the Chemical Weapons Convention is nondiscriminatory in its approach. This is the reason for which the verification methods adopted in the convention are compared favorably with similar efforts in the direction of disarmament. Mr. Narasima Rao emphasized that India is not making any chemical weapons and it has nothing to hide. He said India plans to train its chemical industry in a such a way that they are able to protect their commercial secrets while undergoing the inspection process.

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

Kravchuk Assesses Yeltsin Remarks on Nuclear Weapons

LD2012191893 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1806 GMT 20 Dec 93

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: Prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin, edited by Boris Grishchenko]

[Text]

Nuclear Posture and Pledges Friendship With Moscow

Ukraine's President Kravchuk believes that the Russian President Yeltsin's remarks that "Ukraine fools the whole world on nuclear arms" have not affected and will not affect "the process of signing bilateral accords."

IF Note: Commenting on Kiev's nuclear stand at the recent meeting with U.S. Vice President Gore in Moscow, Yeltsin declared: "Ukraine is fooling us all. It is fooling the U.S., Russia, Europe, it is fooling the whole world, and we are so weak that we cannot do anything about it."

"There are obvious processes—he told journalists in Kiev—that no one can stop—neither Yeltsin, nor Kravchuk nor Zhirinovskiy. Any attempt to stop them is doomed to failure."

In the meantime, he remarked "I did not hear the president's voice." "What you sometimes write or say—he told journalists—is still not the reason for me to make any statements."

However, he admitted that Yeltsin "might have said so in a special situation, among certain persons." "I do not believe that the president meant precisely that by his remark, he declared. Nor can I believe that Boris Nikolayevich regards our state as deceptive." "Ukraine's relations with Russia have always been friendly and will remain such," Kravchuk stressed.

At the same time, he suggested that "it might have simply been a slip of the tongue or he might have said so in duress." In the current complex political situation, it is hard to restrain oneself from poignant statements, he remarked.

In his words, Ukraine has never given any pretext for such accusations.

U.S., Ukrainian, and Russian delegates discussed nuclear disarmament and relations between their countries at tripartite consultations last weekend. According to the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry, the sides discussed the possibility of paying compensation to Ukraine for the uranium that fills the nuclear weapons withdrawn from the republic.

As the Foreign Ministry's Spokesman Yuriy Sergeev has told INTERFAX, the U.S. is beginning to act as a mediator in Ukrainian-Russian negotiations on the problem of nuclear arms deployed in Ukraine.

Defmin Grachev: Ukraine Virtually Nuclear Power

LD0501180394 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1348 GMT 5 Jan 94

[Text] Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev has said that Ukraine was, to all intents and purposes, a nuclear state

since its parliament had virtually not ratified the strategic arms reduction treaty (START I).

In late 1993 the Ukrainian parliament ratified the Start I treaty, but with reservations which changed its essence.

Meeting in Moscow Wednesday well-known political leaders, U.S. Senators Sam Nunn and Richard Lugar, the Russian Minister said that presence of nuclear arms on the territory of Ukraine would be discussed at the Moscow summit January 12 between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and his U.S. counterpart Bill Clinton.

Grachev believes taking part in the summit will be Ukrainian leader Leonid Kravchuk who will give a certain impetus to the possible solution.

Nuclear weapons, believes the Minister, cannot be a subject of bargaining. This is dangerous, said Grachev.

He said he has a hot line with U.S. Defense Secretary Les Aspin [as received].

Grachev has said on Wednesday, at 1600 he intends to discuss with his U.S. counterpart acute security problems.

Tripartite Efforts on Nuclear Issue By U.S., Ukraine, Russia

U.S. Aid Offer Reported

LD1412221193 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1939 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] The United States has agreed to offer Ukraine economic aid worth \$155 Mn, according to a report issued by the American Embassy in Ukraine on Tuesday. According to the document, the money is meant for denationalizing small business, supporting health protection, law enforcement and greater reliability of the operation of nuclear reactors at power stations. Part of the credit is meant for purchases of farm produce. The embassy claims Ukraine can get the aid immediately after the U.S.A. signs appropriate agreements. It also reported that the U.S.A. is ready to offer \$175 Mn for ratifying the START-I Treaty before Ukraine joins the nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty. The size of the aid will depend on the scale and speed of the dismantling of nuclear weapons.

Talks on Removing Ukrainian Nuclear Weapons

LD1712210893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service
in Russian 2010 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev, 17 Dec (UKRINFORM-TASS)—Two-day Russian-Ukrainian-U.S. talks on problems relating to the strategic and tactical nuclear weapons remaining in Ukraine after the break-up of the USSR ended here today.

Issues relating to the ratification of START-I were discussed. Ukraine demands, among other things, guarantees of its security from Russia and the United States following the elimination of missiles and claims financial compensation for the strategic nuclear weapons subject to elimination, including compensation for the tactical nuclear weapons withdrawn to Russia after Ukraine's declaration of independence.

The talks were conducted in a dynamic way. They will be continued by agreement of the three sides.

The following took part in the talks: Russian Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs G. Mamedov; special envoy S. Talbott, and U.S. Deputy Defense Secretary W. Perry; and Ukrainian Deputy Prime Minister V. Shmarov.

Further Report on Talks in Kiev

*LD1912104793 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service
in Ukrainian 0900 GMT 19 Dec 93*

[Text] Talks on issues of strategic and tactical nuclear weapons, inherited by Ukraine after the disintegration of the USSR, were held in Kiev on 16-17 December. Representatives of Ukraine, Russia, and the United States of America took part in the talks. The sides discussed issues connected with the ratification of the START I Treaty and the reservations contained in a resolution by the Supreme Council of Ukraine. They expressed readiness to tackle these issues jointly. In particular, the talk was about the security guarantees to the Ukrainian state on the part of Russia and the United States of America in connection with the elimination of nuclear weapons, about technical assistance aimed at eliminating these weapons, and about compensation to Ukraine for the fissionable materials contained in the nuclear warheads, including those [mounted on] the tactical nuclear weapons that were transferred to Russia after the Supreme Council of Ukraine had adopted the known resolution of 12 September 1991.

It was pointed out at the talks that the stand of the Ukrainian side on this issue was correct, substantiated, and that it rested on the principles of international law.

Ukraine's Deputy Premier Cites Pledges on Debt, Fuel

AU2112103093 Paris AFP in English 0939 GMT 21 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev, Dec 21 (AFP)—Ukraine claimed Tuesday the United States and Russia offered to erase energy debts and supply fuel for the country's nuclear power plants in exchange for the atomic weapons on Ukrainian territory.

Deputy Premier Valeriy Shmarov also confirmed that Ukraine had already removed 17 of the 46 modern SS-24 missiles it possesses from their silos and had disconnected their nuclear warheads. Each has 10 warheads.

Shmarov, the government's point man on nuclear disarmament, told AFP the United States had proposed that Ukraine receive free fuel for its nuclear power stations for the next five years as compensation for giving up the 176 strategic missiles it possesses.

"This is a big step by all sides towards reaching a compromise," Shmarov said.

He stated that the United States had also proposed that Ukraine's estimated two billion-dollar debt to Russia for energy supplies be erased to compensate for the smaller tactical nuclear weapons withdrawn from Ukrainian territory by May 1992.

Shmarov said Russia had agreed to the scheme. Russian officials declined to comment.

He said that within 10 days another three SS-24s will have been deactivated as a "goodwill gesture" by Ukraine.

Shmarov stated that Kiev may consider the deactivated SS-24s as among the missiles it agreed to get rid of under its qualified ratification of the 1991 START treaty.

"We retain the view that the missiles representing the biggest ecological danger must be destroyed first," Shmarov said, referring to 130 older SS-19 long-range missiles.

Ukraine signed agreements last year in which it pledged to respect the START treaty, accede to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and get rid of all the nuclear weapons on its soil.

The Ukrainian parliament however ratified START earlier this year with the stipulation that it only applied to 42 percent of the 176 strategic nuclear missiles from the former Soviet arsenal based in the country.

Kravchuk Predicts Nuclear Accord

*LD2212092093 Moscow Ostankino Television First
Channel Network in Russian 0600 GMT 22 Dec 93*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The United States, Russia, and Ukraine will sign a tripartite agreement with regard to compensating Ukraine for the removal of its nuclear weapons and also security guarantees. This has been announced to journalists in Kiev by Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk.

In his words, reports Interfax, this will be an agreement which will not affect the interests of any state. He also confirmed that 17 SS-24 missiles have been stood down from combat duty. The president said that they cannot be used, even by Russia.

Zlenko Comments

*WS2212163893 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program
Network in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 22 Dec 93*

[Text] Journalists also asked a question that stood apart from the main point of discussion at the briefing held by Ukrainian foreign affairs and foreign trade ministers. Ukrainian Foreign Minister Zlenko was asked to comment on the situation that has taken shape after the United States of America refuted yesterday's statement by President Kravchuk. Here is what the minister replied.

[Begin Zlenko recording] The only thing that I can tell you is that following the decision about START I ratification by the Supreme Council, the Ukrainian foreign minister has undertaken extremely active efforts to resolve conditions and reservations put forward in the resolution. I could tell you about the whole range of measures that the ministry has taken over this short stretch of time. They include negotiations with the Russian and American delegations and trilateral consultations recently held by Ukraine, Russia, and the United States. In other words, we are currently looking for approaches to settle the issues connected with the destruction of nuclear weapons, as stipulated by the Supreme Council resolution. This is why I would like to say that there is nothing here to refute. The fact is that the negotiations were held and the search for solutions to this problem is under way—including the participation of such great nuclear states as Russia and the United States of America.

Ashgabat Summit**May Decide Fate of Kazakhstan's Missiles**

PM2112154493 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
22 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Boris Vinogradov report: "The Fate of Kazakhstan's Nuclear Warheads May Be Decided in Ashgabat"]

[Text] At the meeting of CIS leaders in Ashgabat, Boris Yeltsin and Nursultan Nazarbayev will meet face to face to discuss the question of the status of the strategic nuclear forces that are on Kazakhstan's territory.

Almaty is proposing the formation of a joint command. Moscow has rejected this idea, because it would be a violation of its international commitments.

There is general satisfaction that the Ukrainian option of "privatization" of strategic missiles did not start a trend. The Kazakh parliament, at its recent session, ratified the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

At the same time Russia looked on jealously at the U.S.-Kazakh agreement, signed 13 December, on the safe dismantling of nuclear warheads belonging to the strategic arsenal of the former USSR. Washington promised to grant Almaty \$84 million out of the total sum of \$1.2 billion allocated by the U.S. Congress to the CIS countries for these purposes. Russia, which has great experience in such operations, had expected to find a common language with Kazakhstan and do the dismantling itself.

In formal terms, all 108 SS-18 missiles stationed in Kazakhstan, and the 1,400 warheads, are Russia's property. The total value of their nuclear contents, after dismantling and reprocessing, will amount to about \$1 billion. The world uranium market is strictly limited by IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency] guidelines. But the Americans would like to buy all the uranium left after the warheads are dismantled, and have made it clear to Kazakhstan that money is no object.

Almaty, having willingly renounced the status of a nuclear power, expects to receive compensation for the missiles. Nursultan Nazarbayev's edict banning the exportation from the republic of anything that is on its territory applies not only to missiles, but also to weapons [zaryady] that have been removed from alert status. Kazakhstan's storage facilities are packed with nuclear ammunition.

Russia is willing to share, but insists that the dismantling and the uranium reprocessing takes place at its own plants. Ukraine's uncompromising position cannot but influence Kazakhstan's behavior. Kiev has decided, by the end of this year, to remove all the warheads from 20 SS-24 ICBM's, and to keep them. But Ukraine also does not have the plants and technology for reprocessing the uranium, which it could use as fuel for its five nuclear power stations.

After the Russian elections, the former certainty that the safest course is to ship all the former USSR's nuclear weapons to Russia's territory is not shared by everyone. Russia may come up against more persistent claims from Ukraine and Kazakhstan to keep the nuclear weapons.

It has yet to be decided how Kazakhstan's warheads will be dismantled and by what means their uranium content will be sold.

Kravchuk, Yeltsin Discuss START I in Ashgabat

WS2412151293 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program
Network in Ukrainian 1100 GMT 24 Dec 93

[Text] Today, in the capital of Turkmenistan, where the meeting of the CIS heads of state is being held, a meeting of Ukrainian and Russian presidents has taken place. During the talk the presidents discussed a package of current questions with regard to mutual relations between the two countries. Special attention has been paid to topics related to the START I agreement. The presidents agreed that the resolution of this problem should be approached with great consideration and responsibility.

Russia Insists on Removing Ukraine Nuclear Arms

LD0712175493 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1430 GMT 7 Dec 93

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature: Reports by Diplomatic Correspondents Dmitriy Vosboinikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaly Trubetskoi and others]

[Text] "Considering our international commitments and proceeding from the interests of Russia's security, we cannot allow the emergence of new nuclear states on our borders." This statement was made in an exclusive interview with INTERFAX in Murmansk on Tuesday by Russia's Foreign Minister, Andrey Kozyrev.

That is why Moscow intends to firmly insist on removing nuclear arms from Ukraine for their further scrapping in Russia, he pointed out.

According to the foreign minister, the stand taken by Russia gained "unanimous support" at the Brussels session of the North-Atlantic Council for Cooperation. At Russia's insistence the Council urged Ukraine to ratify the START I treaty, "since no one in the world recognizes the Ukrainian parliament's resolution on this score as ratification."

As Kozyrev said, "Ukraine's interpretation of this issue is fundamentally wrong." "Kiev's arguments to the effect that the Ukrainian parliament ratified START I, and that this is its way of claiming the right to possess nuclear weapons deployed in Ukraine, cannot be taken seriously," he stressed.

Russia, Kozyrev pointed out, "did all it could to conduct a peaceful dialog with Ukraine." "However, the problem of nuclear weapons makes the situation hopeless. The same relates to the Black Sea Fleet whose division is absurd in itself," he said.

According to the head of Russian diplomacy, "Sevastopol was Russia's naval base and it must remain as such." "The process of placing the fleet under Russia's jurisdiction must proceed painlessly by means of making compensation to Ukraine, notwithstanding the fact that Ukraine owes Russia enormous sums of money for oil and gas, as well as in the framework of trade," he said.

Kozyrev is confident that relations between Russia and Ukraine can be normalized as soon as Ukraine begins to honor the bilateral agreements reached in Massandra. "But we have no right to go along with the absurd ideas of proliferating nuclear arms and dividing the Black Sea Fleet," Kozyrev said.

When asked about Russia's attitude to the possibility of expanding the number of permanent members in the UN Security Council by means of including Germany and Japan in it, Kozyrev noted that this is not a pressing problem.

With reference to the Russian Choice bloc, he is a co-founder of, Kozyrev said that in the future parliament the bloc may "in principle" enter into coalition with "any reformist movements." "However let's wait and see how many seats in the parliament Russian Choice itself will obtain," he added.

Kozyrev said he fears that members of the future parliament "will spend a year or two on their accommodation and training alone." "As a result we'll lose the Duma. To prevent this from happening we'll have to elect real professionals, such as those who belong to the Russian Choice bloc, to the Yavlinskiy bloc, to the Shakhray bloc," Kozyrev said. "In the next two years we'll have to 'push through' several laws which would enable the country to live in peace. Let the new deputies who will come later improve them."

Foreign Ministry Warns Ukraine on Nuclear Status

LD0712141793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service
in Russian 1246 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow, 7 Dec (ITAR-TASS)—The Ukraine's compliance with its commitment to assuming non-nuclear status and acceding to the nonproliferation treaty is now a problem that will brook no delay, the director of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Information and Press Department, Grigoriy Karasin, told a briefing today.

After giving an analysis of international reaction to the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet's resolution on START-I and on the Ukraine's commitments under the Lisbon Protocol, he said that "a consensus against Kiev's denuclearization maneuverings" is forming in the world. In his opinion, "Kiev should take account" of the sharp reaction by European countries to the Ukraine's intention of keeping the nuclear weapons that are on its territory.

Ukraine's Security Fears Over START Viewed

94WC0017A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian No 47, 24 Nov 93 p 1

[Article by Sergey Rogov, president of the Center for National Security and International Relations: "Ukrainian Nuclear Missiles, Targeted at the Skies, Could Alter the Balance of Forces on Earth"]

[Text] The amendments that deputies of the Supreme Council of Ukraine made in ratification of the START I treaty could upset the balance of forces in the world.

The consequences of the step taken by Ukraine have not been recognized with us as yet, unfortunately. The point being that we are present not simply during Ukraine's revision of its former position in respect to nonnuclear status. A new nuclear power, a nuclear superpower, even, is being created before our eyes. After all, in terms of the quantity of strategic nuclear arms deployed on the territory of Ukraine and declared by the Supreme Council to be its property, it is today entirely comparable with what the Soviet Union had 25 years ago, in the period when the Soviet-American negotiations that led in 1972 to the signing of the SALT I treaty began.

Even following the reductions to which the Ukrainian leadership has consented, Ukraine will have more nuclear arms than Britain, France, and China put together.

Why has this happened? Why has Ukraine renounced its former positions? Such an outcome of events was, I believe, to have been expected. The commitment to the adoption of nuclear-free status was made by Ukraine in the period when the struggle for sovereignty was under way. Ukraine was not an independent state at that time. The situation changed drastically following the disintegration of the Soviet Union, when the formation of new independent national states began, and Ukraine, like any other state, is taking the path of recognition of power factors, primarily military-power factors, as the basis of its position in the international arena and status in the system of international relations. And if Russia, the United States, and other nuclear states are not about to give up their nuclear arms—it is only a question of a reduction thereof—why should we expect any different a position of Ukraine? The formation of a new independent state, when its position is still quite fragile, is evoking in Ukrainian political circles—and not only among nationalists—an aspiration to rely on some power levers. Nuclear weapons under these conditions are coming to be perceived as a guarantor of Ukraine's independence and as a means of deterrence against interference in its internal affairs.

From Russia's viewpoint, such a development of events is, naturally, extremely undesirable. After all, this means that Soviet nuclear weapons have not one successor—Russia—but two and, possibly, three, considering that Kazakhstan also is refusing to recognize the nuclear weapons on its territory as Russian property and is essentially, albeit with a certain lag, taking the route carved out by Ukraine. Thus, Russia will become the sole state in the world that will have on its borders three nuclear neighbors, counting China. This geostrategic situation could have extremely negative consequences if account is taken of that entire complex of territorial national border contradictions that exist even now and that could emerge for Russia with its neighbors in the future.

Ukraine's step will have negative consequences also for the system of international relations as a whole. After all, the appearance of a new nuclear power or superpower, even, is a most severe blow to the status of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, which is already experiencing the strongest pressure as a result of the actions of North Korea, Iran, Iraq, India, and Pakistan as it is. How might the world community impede the nuclear ambitions of some states and agree to the acquisition of nuclear weapons and nuclear status by others? The logic of the Nonproliferation Treaty is confounded, and it may be expected that at the conference reviewing this treaty, which is scheduled for 1995, Ukraine's actions will be used by many opponents of a continuation of the nonproliferation regime to undermine it and to deny an extension thereof. In addition, in the new multipolar world that has come to replace the bipolar system of the cold war period, the prospect of the proliferation of nuclear weapons would bring about an abrupt destabilization of the situation. Use of the nuclear factor to become a power center could make the process of the preservation of stability in the multipolar world practically unmanageable.

It has to be said that the Ukrainian leadership's decision represents a most important miscalculation of Russia. Two

years ago at Belovezhskaya Pushcha, and in subsequent agreements of the CIS, the question of ownership of the nuclear weapons was avoided. Nebulous, essentially meaningless wording of the "unified control over nuclear weapons" type was employed instead. Under conditions where each republic had become a full successor of all Soviet property on its territory, such wording could not have prevented a division of the military inheritance among the republics, and now, it is becoming clear, the nuclear inheritance also.

For a long time, unfortunately, the Russian leadership ignored the problem, putting its faith in the United States and the West forcing Ukraine to abandon its claims. But this did not happen. And Russia itself contributed to the increased suspicions in respect to itself in Ukraine, making territorial demands, inflating the conflict over the Black Sea Fleet, and using economic levers as a stick in relations with Ukraine. All this played into the hands of the circles in Ukraine that are doing everything possible to rid themselves of the Chernobyl syndrome and build Ukrainian sovereignty on the classical factors of power politics.

RUSSIA

Provisions of New Cryogenic Deal With India

PM0401113394 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI
in Russian 4 Jan 94 p 6

[Vladimir Naumov report: "Fate of 'Cosmic' Deal"]

[Text] The new year is beginning propitiously for Russian-Indian cooperation in space matters. The editorial office possesses reliable information that the sides have at last succeeded in emerging from the ticklish situation which developed following the suspension of the Agreement on the Joint Development of a Cryogenic Booster Unit (CBU).

It was signed by the Glavkosmos [Main Administration for the Development and Use of Space Technology for the National Economy and Scientific Research] and the Indian Space Research Organization [ISRO] in 1991 and provided for the transfer of Russian cryogenic space technologies to India and for the instruction and training of specialists. The contracts were worth 2.35 billion rupees. By the time the agreement had been declared a violation of the missile technology control regime [MTCR] (in the opinion of some experts, the very fact of a violation is highly debatable), the Indians had already paid us 1.297 billion rupees (approximately 60 percent of the total).

For this money the Glavkosmos passed to the ISRO 90 percent of the technical documentation and certain equipment needed to organize production. In an instant all this "property" became useless, since there could be no question of continuing deliveries worth more than 1 billion rupees. In addition, the Indian space program, which is entirely dependent on the joint development of the CBU, found itself in jeopardy.

It was in these starting conditions that the sides started debating the project's future. Three times the talks were on the verge of failure. Nevertheless, an acceptable solution was found. In the opinion of specialists, the new version of the agreement will fit fully within the "Procrustean bed" of the MTCR.

What, then, has been agreed? Instead of technologies, the Glavkosmos will supply two additional CBU flight stages and technological equipment for their operation for the outstanding sum. It will pass to India two mockup units: A service one to complete the ground servicing complex and a dynamic one to "fit" it to the launch complex.

In addition, an additional agreement has been concluded on the delivery of three more Russian-made finished flight stages. Each of them will cost \$3 million. This will enable India not to curtail independent space research but merely to correct its program.

The purchaser has pledged to use the equipment obtained from the Glavkosmos exclusively for peaceful purposes—to launch telecommunications satellites and other useful civilian payloads into orbit. India has agreed to a requirement not to reexport it to third countries and not to modernize without Russia's consent. Our specialists' access to places where all the space rockets which will use the units being sold as the third stage are assembled, tested, and launched will also be ensured.

The first Russian CBU's will be handed over to the ISRO in 1996. But the Indians are prepared to pay one-half of the cost in advance (\$4.5 million) as early as January 1994. In conditions when the Glavkosmos is finding it hard to find the money to support the space rocket complex, these dollars will come in handy.

The accords that have been reached are very important. They will not only enable Russia to "save face" as a reliable partner in international cooperation but will also ensure employment for 15,000 of our compatriots—working people in the space industry—through the year 2000.

Thanks to the new agreement, experts believe, Russia and India will preserve the trade and scientific ties developed over the years. It is not hard to predict what the outcome would have been if this had not happened: In full accordance with the proverb "nature abhors a vacuum," our niche in the market for space services would be taken over by leading French and U.S. firms. They have long been looking longingly at this region.

Possible U.S.-Russian Retargeting Agreement

IZVESTIYA Commentary

PM0812164993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Dec 93
First Edition p 3

[Report by Aleksandr Sychev: "Moscow and Washington Will Keep World Ocean in Their Sights"]

[Text] Colonel General Igor Sergeyev, commander of the Russian Strategic Missile Forces, has had talks with top Pentagon officials and the command of the U.S. strategic forces regarding the retargeting of strategic nuclear missiles.

At his latest press conference President Bill Clinton did not specify whether the consultations had gotten far. Russian state institutions are also refraining from comment.

The Russian and U.S. presidents are examining at least two ways of implementing the initiative suggested in April by Boris Yeltsin to President Clinton in Vancouver. According to one option it is planned to retarget ballistic missiles, designed by Russia and the United States for mutual destruction, on

godforsaken corners of the world ocean. According to unconfirmed reports 24 desert regions have already been identified as suitable for the role of false targets. Another option envisages not targeting the missiles anywhere.

"The idea of retargeting has long been discussed in academic circles," a staffer at a Russian department said. "It is useful and it is good that we are moving from theory to practice. Russia and the United States are no longer adversaries yet to this day they have been keeping each other in their sights."

What will the implementation of the Russian idea provide? If there is an unsanctioned launch there will not be mass human casualties or a retaliatory nuclear missile strike. Because of its military-technical flaws the agreement could become a touchstone of the sincerity of the friendship between Moscow and Washington and a confidence-building measure. After all, apart from secret agents there are no other means which would allow us to assure ourselves of the honesty of our partner and his fulfillment of his commitments.

In addition it takes only about 15 minutes to retarget individually targeted missiles and warheads. You only have to put the necessary programs into the computers.

Nonetheless it is better to have "disoriented" missiles than missile which "know" precisely the point which has been targeted in the United States or Russia. In given circumstances the time necessary for reprogramming could save mankind.

Technical Aspects

PM2312094393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI
in Russian 23 Dec 93 p 2

[Roman Zadunayskiy article under "Details" rubric: "Where U.S. and Russian Missiles Are Targeted"]

[Text] In the past B. Yeltsin's words to the effect that henceforth Russian ballistic missiles with nuclear warheads were no longer targeted on U.S. cities were given quite a restrained welcome by the Bush administration and did not meet with any special desire on the part of the White House and the Pentagon to take an analogous step. It now comes to light, however, that the Russian military was also in no hurry to retarget the missiles—talks on this are proceeding only now both at the highest level and directly between military chiefs.

Thus, Colonel General I. Sergeyev, commander of the Strategic Missile Forces, recently met in the United States (Omaha) with Gen. L. Butler, chief of the U.S. Strategic Air Command, and with high-ranking Pentagon representatives. It is too soon to speak of the result of the talks but, according to available information, they discussed precisely the retargeting of U.S. and Russian ICBM's at deserted areas of the World Ocean. According to U.S. data, 20 such regions have already been identified.

The retargeting scheme itself is not complex: The coordinates of targets in the Russian Federation and the United States which had been entered into the missiles' computer operational memory will be replaced by the coordinates of regions in the ocean. These are the main targets, while the reserve targets, also entered in the computer memory, will remain untouched. In general, the coordinates of the main targets have to be entered in the computer memory, since

the possibility that the missile will fall onto the territory from which it was launched cannot be ruled out. The flight mission—the coordinates of the main target—can be changed in 15 minutes, so retargeting is a symbolic, diplomatic step rather than a military, operational-tactical one, and a demonstration of the significant warming of Russian-U.S. relations.

At the same time there are several aspects which complicate even this, at first sight simple and understandable diplomatic maneuver. It is not clear, for example, how Ukraine, on whose territory 176 missiles with 1,240 nuclear charges are stationed, will react to this. In addition, 81 missiles (81 charges) are on the territory of Belarus and 98 missiles (980 nuclear charges) in Kazakhstan. Under interstate treaties all these silo-housed ICBM's with their nuclear multiple reentry vehicles belong to Russia, but the Ukrainian leadership is known to dissent on this question. Therefore the possibility cannot be ruled out that Kiev will once again show self-will and refuse to retarget "its" missiles (which L. Kravchuk has transferred to the jurisdiction of the 42d Missile Army of the republic's Armed Forces), offended that the talks were held without involving the Ukrainian military department.

The retargeting of ground-based ICBM's will reduce the danger of their unsanctioned launch and, thus, of a nuclear war arising by accident. But similar missiles with nuclear warheads (Russia has 788 of them with 2,652 charges) will remain on submarines of both states, and there seems to be no question of retargeting these. In addition, problems of inspection arise with regard to where the missiles are actually targeted. It only remains for us to take the Pentagon at its word that henceforth Russia will not be the main target of the U.S. military, but only a reserve target. States bordering on the regions of the World Ocean at which the missiles will be retargeted and also Greenpeace will be indignant. The possibility cannot be ruled out that the retargeting of missiles at "abstract" targets will dampen the ardor of missilemen and lessen their attention—which could lead to unsanctioned launches.

The most radical option for preventing an accidental unleashing of nuclear war is to remove the nuclear warheads from the carriers and store them. Incidentally, this simple solution to the problem, proposed by Bruce Blair, a U.S. specialist in questions of nuclear weapon command and control systems at the Brookings Institution, as well as by some Russian specialists, is categorically rejected by both Washington and Moscow. The fact that, apart from the United States and Russia, which have "become friends," other nuclear states exist in the world, and the policies of some of these inspire real fear, serves as a weighty argument.

Large Quantity of Mustard Gas Said Missing

MK2112123093 Moscow KURANTY in Russian
21 Dec 93 p 3

[Sergey Kaverin report under the "Scandal" rubric: Thousands of Tonnes of Mustard Gas Disappeared]

[Text] Professor S. Novikov, a Russian Democratic Reform Movement leader, laboratory chief at the Russian Academy of Sciences' Chemical Physics Institute, and a well known specialist in chemical weapons, accidentally "straying" from the subject of elections, stunned invited journalists by saying that the latest register of chemical weapons subject to

elimination (under the convention on banning chemical weapons, which was signed by Russia) lists only five tonnes of mustard gas. It also clearly indicates that these are Russia's entire mustard gas reserves as of today. If this is so, a chilling question arises: What happened to tens of thousands of tonnes of this deadly chemical substance? Professor Novikov knows for sure that according to all post-war "catalogues," the quantity of mustard gas operational with the Armed Forces and located on Russian territory was measured precisely in these figures and that it has never been exported, destroyed, or dumped.

Agreement on Cosmodrome in Papua New Guinea

LD1712093293 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Russia's space industry has a chance to strengthen its position on the world market. Under an agreement with Australia, Russia's specialists will play a key role in building a new international private space launching site. This will be on one of the islands of Papua New Guinea. The islands are close to the equator, and that makes it possible to put in orbit twice as big a payload as that in the more northern and southern latitude. The launching will be done by Russia's powerful Proton rocket. The first rocket will be launched from the new cosmodrome in 1998.

French Inspection Under CSCE Arrangements

PM1712114193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Dec 93 p 3

[Russian Federation Ministry of Defense Press and Information Directorate report: "Inspection Carried Out"]

[Text] On 10 December 1993, in accordance with the provisions of the 1992 Vienna document resulting from the talks on confidence-building and security measures, the French Government made a request to the Russian Federation Government to conduct inspections of military activity on the territory of the North Caucasus Military District.

The Russian Federation Ministry of Defense Information and Press Directorate reports that the French side's request has been met.

On 13 December a French inspection group comprising four representatives of the French Armed Forces arrived in the aforementioned area, where it carried out a 48-hour inspection.

NASA Chief Gives News Conference on Joint Space Project

LD1612184293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1815 GMT 16 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Anna Bakina and Vladimir Rogachev]

[Text] Moscow December 16 TASS—Neither Russia nor the United States could carry out such a project alone, head of the U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Daniel Goldin, told a news conference in Moscow on Thursday.

The news conference devoted to the signing of a package of bilateral agreements on space cooperation between Russia and the United States by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and U.S. Vice-President Al Gore.

The documents confirm Russia's participation in the project to build an international orbiting station Alpha which is expected to go into service in the beginning of the next century. The project also involves the European Space Agency, Japan and Canada. The 20-year project will provide with jobs about 60,000 to 70,000 people and will cost 400 million U.S. dollars.

This is the largest and most impressive project ever, Goldin said. Additionally, Russia's participation will help reduce the time needed to bring the first module into orbit by two years, he added.

Yuri Koptev, director-general of the Russian Space Agency, told ITAR-TASS that the project will also allow Russian enterprises to test the most advanced technologies and raise international cooperation in space research to a new height. Speaking about the content of the project, Koptev said that two mission control centres will be engaged to monitor the station flight, one in Houston, Texas, U.S., and the other one in the city of Kaliningrad outside Moscow. Russian specialists will be working in the United States while their American colleagues will come to Russia.

Koptev also said that a contract has been signed to conduct joint work under the project between 1994-1997. He said an agreement will be signed next week to determine all basic characteristics of technical means to be used within the project framework.

Correspondent Views Plan To Dismantle Nuclear Submarines

OW2712165693 Vladivostok Radiostantsiya Tikhyy Okean Maritime Network in Russian 0815 GMT 2 Dec 93

[From the "Pacific Ocean" Program]

[Text] Folk wisdom says that a promise takes three years to keep. Sovetskaya Gavan residents have found this saying to be true. A decision was adopted exactly three years ago to withdraw nuclear submarines from the Sovetskaya Gavan Bay. This decision was adopted by the Pacific Fleet command and by the former commander Admiral Khvatov personally, under public pressure. However... our correspondent Yevgeniy Chuyev comments on this significant date.

[Chuyev] Military chiefs had promised to begin a gradual withdrawal of the dangerous submarines from the teeming waters of the bay by 1991. The rest of story proceeded as usual, and the situation just dragged on. You might remember an old joke: The important thing is not to achieve anything, but to show a readiness to do so; after an order is given, the main thing to do is to say: Yes, sir! The year 1991 was noted for the turbulent political events in our country, and for the August putsch attempts. The year 1992 saw economic collapse and financial failures of well-intentioned schemes, such as the intention to withdraw the submarines. As this year was nearing its end, money was finally found for the withdrawal of the first submarine. Here is where the problem started. As some officers have said, this is how it started: A submarine arrived at one of the restricted factories of Maritime Kray—or, to be exact, in one of the Maritime Kray units. The moment it arrived they shouted: We cannot accept you, there is no place we can put you. In short, the submarine was received like a stepdaughter: it was supplied neither provisions nor water, and the sailors had to carry their own provisions just to survive. Allow me to quote a part of the

story as told by Captain Third Rank Aleksandr Orlov, who witnessed it all first hand. He said: People who work at the factory are not practical, and the principle of pay before work is very well rooted here. It is called early pay nowadays. However, even this solves nothing because first, there was no [word indistinct] conversion order—namely, for disarming the submarine; second, the floating pier where the submarine was supposed to dock was missing; third, the submarine was considered to be cruising independently still, and thus had not really arrived. Can you believe it? Although they say that the situation at the factory has calmed down, the crew still wonders about its future.

The submarine will leave the factory and head to [words indistinct], where it will await its turn to be dismantled. Considering the fact that the waiting line is very long, it is safe to assume that the grueling waiting and ordeal will drag on for years. But what about the others? After all, three more nuclear submarines remain in Sovetskaya Gavan, and there are many more in the Far East region's waters. Undoubtedly, it is simpler just to build submarines than to think of a proper way to dispose of them. This situation involves ethical issues as well as material ones. It is not the sailors' fault if someone failed to think of their future. But as for civilians—people like you and me, those who live on the coast—we should not also be forced to carry the burden of nuclear hostages and bad planning. The submarines have certainly done no wrong, and after faithfully serving the Motherland, they have the right to eternal peace without having to undergo the current ordeal and tribulation. We have waited patiently for three years, but the promise is sticking in our throats.

CW Destruction Investigated by ROSSIYA

94WC0019A Moscow ROSSIYA in Russian No 50,
8-14 Dec 93 (signed to press 7 Dec 93) p 8

[Article by Lev Fedorov under the rubric: "Investigation for ROSSIYA: The Chemical Death Complex"]

[Text] Having arrested ex-KGB General O. Kalugin in London recently, the British police, in their words, were counting on obtaining additional information about the participation of USSR special services in the murder of the Bulgarian dissident writer G. Markov. But even Kalugin was able to shed little light on the origin of the ricin poison, three micrograms of which were used to commit this murder. Other people could give answers to these questions. But they are silent. True, not all of them. In September of last year Doctors of Chemical Sciences VII Mirzayanov and Lev Fedorov reported to the world from the pages of MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI about Russia's production of chemical weapons, including the latest kinds of binary ones. In spite of the postcommunist times, there were immediate attempts to silence them. Criminal charges were filed against V. Mirzayanov, accusing him of divulging a state secret. Lev Fedorov took one more step: He prepared and turned over to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation a document on the production of chemical weapons. The fate of the document was sad. It burned in the Supreme Soviet building on 4 October. But manuscripts, as we know, do not burn. On the basis of information he had, Lev Fedorov prepared the article published below.

The Granary of the Homeland

On the whole during the past two years a good deal has been written about problems of destroying chemical weapons and

the military-chemical complex as a whole. Practically everything coming from official sources can without hesitation be called deceptive rubbish. To sum up what has been said by the chemical generals, we now "have the good fortune" to possess approximately 40,000 tonnes of combat toxic substances.

The list is surprisingly short. Shorter than the one in the brochures on civil defense used in the campaign for eliminating illiteracy. It includes:

- blister agents (mustard gas, lewisite, and mixtures of them);
- nerve gases (sarin and soman);
- V-nerve gasses;
- police CS gas.

From civil war times until the 1960's the concept of chemical weapons and also their arsenals included many other substances in addition to those mentioned above: phosgene, diphosgene, hydrocyanic acid, adamsite, diphenylchlorarsine. They were not only used in military service of the Red Army but were also produced on a large scale.

During the Vietnam War our press castigated the American aggressors who used chemical weapons. It was not chemical warfare in the classical form, but a herbicide war—chemical means of destroying vegetation were used as combat toxic substances. It is known that within the framework of the symmetrical response to the imperialist threat the USSR was also preparing for herbicide war. The Institute of Phytopathology of the USSR Ministry of Agriculture and its numerous divisions and branches were particularly successful here. Something was also set aside for the practice of waging the herbicide war. One can inquire about this in the Moscow Scientific Research Institute of Chemical Means of Plant Protection (VNIKhSZR), its branch in Ufa, and also...incidentally, now it is already in a foreign country.

The Bulgarian dissident G. Markov was killed with ricin. "Big brother," the USSR special services, shared it with his brothers in the socialist camp. It should be added that installations for manufacturing ricin as a combat toxic substance until quite recently were working along happily in the Moscow State-Union Scientific Research Institute of Organic Chemistry and Technology (GSNIIOKhT) and/or its Volsk branch (now the State Institute for Organic Synthesis Technologies).

The chemical generals are guarding their secrets. Toxic substances are assigned numbers and names that reveal no information to the ordinary person. But the official press of the military-industrial complex sometimes gives out state or, rather, departmental secrets. Recently KRASNAYA ZVEZDA mentioned "Item 33," "Item 35," and a model with the code VX. In the same place they mentioned the "binary nerve gas 'Novichok.'" The British press found out about "Novichok" and its code—"Product A-232."

Product R-33 is a so-called V-gas. For 15 long years it was produced in Novocheboksarsk at the Chuvash Production Association Khimprom imeni Leninskiy Komsomol. At the beginning of the 1960's two of these combines were planned: one in Chuvashia and the other in a place that is now outside the country. The Chuvash Production Association placed on the altar of the Cold War (according to official data) 15,200 tonnes of Product 33.

Product R-35 is a toxic substance named "sarin" by the Nazis, and a plant to produce it was constructed in Diechernfurt on the Oder. But the Red Army arrived in time and the plant "turned up missing." It materialized in Stalingrad, at the present All-Union Production Association Khimprom imeni Kirov. Because of their technological backwardness they were not able to put the equipment they had won into operation quickly. They did not begin to fill ammunition with Product R-35 in series production in Stalingrad until 1959, and they produced 11,700 tonnes of it.

Soman is a "relative" of sarin, it is Product R-55, and they began to produce it in Volgograd, smuggling it out from the time the technological flow line was put into operation until the end of the 1960's. The dry residue from these efforts is 4,750 tonnes. Nobody else in the world has this toxic substance and we do not yet know how to destroy it safely.

Product A-232, which was mentioned in the British press, is one of a whole series of "innovations," created under the large-scale Soviet Foliant Program during the 1970's-1980's. This series began to be created as early as 1973 at the Volsk branch of the GSNIIOKhT. After the first "successes," Moscow was included with the corresponding scale, programs, and prospects.

We now have a whole series of toxic substances of the third generation to our credit.

Some of them were selected to be poured into ammunition on the technological flow line in Volgograd and also for testing at the testing ground in Shikhani.

In order to understand the danger presented by these arsenals, let us do some calculations. Let us say that a fatal dose of V-gas for a human being is about a milligram (more precise data are a state secret). Our official supply of this poison is sufficient to kill the entire population of the earth several times.

| Toxic substance | Overall output during the period of 1940-1945 (in tonnes) | Turned over for destruction in 1992 | Remainder |
|------------------|---|--|-----------|
| mustard gas | 77,385 | 690 (plus 1,010 tonnes of a mixture of mustard gas and lewisite) | 75,000 |
| lewisite | 20,601 | 6,585 | 14,000 |
| hydrocyanic acid | 11,104 | 0 | |
| phosgene | 8,293 | 5 | |
| adamsite | 6,058 | 3,200 | |
| sarin | — | 11,720 | |
| soman | — | 4,750 | |
| V-gas | — | 15,200 | |

The table, unfortunately, does not err on the side of completeness and abundance. For example, mustard gas was produced before 1940 as well, and they continued to produce it along with lewisite after 1945. With respect to sarin, soman, and V-gas it is unknown (not only precisely but even approximately) how much was produced.

It must be emphasized that against the background of the nuclear missile confrontation there was not the slightest strategic need for our generals' chemical "toys." This subject deserves a separate study: Immense amounts of money have been spent and even more will have to be spent to destroy the poison that has been accumulated. Lewisite, adamsite, diphenylchlorarsine—a substance containing arsenic. Arsenic, as we know, lasts forever and will not disappear of its own accord from the places where it was produced or stored.

Something else is more important now. The yperite-lewisites are a German-American achievement from the beginning of the century, sarin and soman are a purely German invention from World War II times (one of the versions of Hitler's weapons of retribution), gas VX is a postwar Swedish-American creation, and CS gas was accepted for use by our army only after U.S. policy rejected it. The technical problems involved in producing these toxic substances were solved before the beginning of the 1960's and it was at that time that they moved from the scientific sphere into production.

What was our military-chemical science together with industry doing the rest of the time? Where are the residuals society does not know about but which threaten it with many chemical Chernobyls?

The nation's survival depends upon a complete and honest answer to these questions.

The Convict Past

Domestic military chemistry has a convict past. For the pioneer in the development and production of chemical weapons, the GSNIIOKhT, the use of prisoner labor was the norm right up until the "Thaw." It began at the end of the 1920's. At that time it was still called by its prerevolutionary name, the Olginskiy Plant, and it was located on the Highway of the Enthusiasts. Then came a series of disguises—Plant No. 1, Plant No. 51, GSNII-42, GSNII-403....

The output of mustard gas and phosgene was developed by a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Ye. Shpitalskiy. He was arrested in 1929 but his death sentence was commuted to a 10-year term. The scientist continued to supervise the work, but as a prisoner. Subsequent work in the Institute was conducted not only by prisoners but also with the direct participation of the NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs]. One of the renowned industrial developments was called "the method of the fourth special division" of the NKVD.

Of course, prisoners worked at other military chemistry facilities as well. Thus the giant of the First Five-Year Plan, the Visherskiy Chemical Plant (VISHKhIMZ), included the Bereznikov Soda Plant, which was rebuilt by prisoners—without their knowledge—for the production of mustard gas.

At that time the price of a human life, even a free one, not to mention one in prison, was negligible. Let us take for an

illustration just one plant—No. 102 in Chapayevsk, where they produced shells, mines, and bombs with mustard gas and lewisite, and for just one year—1942.

During the first quarter 323 people suffered from occupational poisoning and injury, in the second quarter—400 were added, and in the third quarter—another 412 were added to these. Nine-tenths of these people worked in specialized shops: IV (the manufacture of mustard gas), V (pouring it into ammunition), and there was also Shop No. VII, where they produced lewisite.

The technology for work with strong poisons is back in the Stone Age: Toxic substances were poured from tanks into barrels through rubber hoses, and using cans and buckets they were transferred from the barrels into the ammunition. A work day lasted 11 hours and involved wearing a gas mask and specialized rubber clothing. The working conditions (a statement from the capital commission): dirty in the shops, residuals from the poured product not cleaned up, deep potholes in the floor, dismantled equipment that had not been moved or decontaminated. In Shop No. 5 the station for purifying waste waters did not function for months on end and throughout a large area there was no ventilation equipment.

One time an apparatchik, his assistant, and a "journalist" (during those years that is what they called the accounting clerks) were doused from head to toe with mustard gas from a broken hose. The "journalist" died the next day, the assistant—10 days later, and the apparatchik himself also barely lived until the Victory. The plant leaders were given a reprimand for...losing 700 kg of mustard gas. They did not come up with any other method before the end of the war.

In 1942 more than 1,000 people were discharged from the plant: About 300 were just discharged because of illness and approximately the same number fled!

Reinforcements arrived at the plant in 1943—about 600 people who had been released from prisons and camps and more than 1,000 elderly Uzbeks who were not fit to go to the front and spoke Russian poorly. Less than 300 of them returned to Uzbekistan—the rest were buried in the Chapayevsk city cemetery. And more than 500 people fled that same year (out from under the wing of Lavrentiy Beriia's department!).

The "Thaw" did not break the continuity of the times. Thousands of prisoners from the new wave worked on the construction of Khimprom in Novocheboksarsk at the beginning of the 1970's. They continued to work later as well, for example, at this plant's twin in a nearby foreign country. The scale of the use of forced labor was so great that a term originated—"he served time in chemistry" as a synonym for "he served time in jail."

The high Areopagus of the military-chemical complex landed in Chapayevsk in the summer of 1989: more than 20 deputy ministers, generals, directors, and academicians. They were there to place wreaths on graves in the city cemetery and get as far away as their legs would carry them from the unfortunate city which had been polluted by socialism and forgotten by God and the authorities. But the chiefs did not come in repentance—they almost declared Chapayevsk to be the most suitable place for destroying

chemical weapons that were no longer needed. True, this decision was not ultimately made....

War Victims—Burned Out Cities

People in military-chemical production burned like straw. And entire cities where these factories of death were located were also unable to keep from burning up. Not a single document of modern Russia mentions the fact that scars have been left on the body of the earth, even in places where weapons are not produced. An immense ring of filth still surrounds each of them: bodies of water, underground waters, and soil are polluted. Residents suffer from incomprehensible diseases. And there is no mention of allotting funds for treating these people, not to mention restoring the ecology of these places.

The specific addresses and the degree of mutilation of the environment are still a well-kept secret. Nonetheless, spies of the "probable enemy" have probably progressed much farther than we have in recognizing our filthy chemical past.

Last year in the United States a paper was published on Soviet chemical weapons; it included a considerable number of German and Anglo-American discoveries. From this it is possible to learn a great deal about the plants of the USSR that produced and were preparing to produce chemical weapons during the prewar and war years.

The current VNIKhSZR, the brain center for the chemistry of toxic substances, was in fact a large hybrid consisting of Moscow Plant No. 51 and NII-42 (which grew, in turn, out of the central plant laboratory (TsZL) and the special laboratory of the Scientific Research Institute imeni V. Ya. Karpov). One can also find out a lot about the "numerical" past of many other plants that are now leading a quite respectable life as flagships of the chemical industry—Khimprom imeni Kirov from Volgograd (Plant No. 91, produced mustard gas), the plant for chemical fertilizers from Chapayevsk (Plant No. 102, mustard gas, lewisite, phosgene), the soda production association from Bereznikov (Plant No. 761, mustard gas), and the Zavolzhskiy plant from Kineshma (Plant No. 756, adam-site). A good deal is also being reported about plants that were preparing to produce chemical weapons but for various reasons did not do so but still left the regions contaminated.

The spies did not find anything or did not want to share their knowledge about Khimprom, which was constructed in Chuvashia during the 1970's. Moreover, they very much degraded our city's contribution to large-scale chemistry by designating in it a plant for chemical weapons—Chernorechensk (Dzerzhinsk) combine No. 96/148. Things were complicated and confused. In fact in Dzerzhinsk three different giants of aggressive military chemistry have been operating since prewar years, and especially actively since the beginning of the war. The Chernorechensk Chemical Plant imeni Kalinin (now the Korund Production Association) produced and filled ammunition with hydrocyanic acid, phosgene, and diphosgene. Plant No. 96 (now the Kaprolaktam Production Association) produced and loaded lewisite and various yprites. And plant No. 148 (the modern Orgsteklo Production Association) specialized in ammunition with hydrocyanic acid. These plants also made deliveries of toxic substances to go—in tanks and barrels. For

example, the Kirovo-Chepetskiy chemical plant obtained mustard gas for the war from Plant No. 96 and all it did was load it into the ammunition.

By the 1980's in the main administration for producing chemical weapons (it was called the Soyuz Org Sintez All-Union Association) there remained perhaps only the Volgograd plant; the other active legal entities of war times (Plant Nos. 96, 102, and 148) were discarded because they were unneeded and ended up in other, less wealthy main administrations.

Pin on a Medal

Everything that has been said needs to have the names filled in, for otherwise the personage of the nomenklatura clan of the military-chemical complex will not acquire individual features, and the country and its citizens, as they say, must know their heroes.

The Chuvash newspaper MK in May of this year recalled an event from a decade ago when the chemical industry house newspaper published a note saying that the general director of the Khimprom Chuvash Production Association, L. Shevnitsyn, had been awarded the title Hero of Socialist Labor, for which it was chewed out by the security deputy. Now one can guess the reasons.

The restoration of the personnel iconostasis of the military-chemical complex is a labor-intensive affair. People in uniform are extremely close-lipped. Practically the only sources of information are the scanty stories from eyewitnesses and tidbits from "champaign toasts" that have sometimes made their way to the newspapers when somebody's anniversary was being celebrated. Of course, the picture of the personal achievements (bonuses, orders) of leading citizens is not very complete. But we must try to restore at least that.

[Box, p. 8]

S.A. Arzhakov. Director of the Dzerzhinsk Institute-State Union Scientific Research Institute of Chlororganic Products and Acrylates imeni V.A. Kargin (1970's), later—deputy chairman of the State Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers for Military and Industrial Questions. Lenin Prize—biological (anti-immunological) weapons (1991).

R.K. Balchenko. Deputy director of the Volsk branch of the GSNIIOKhT. State Prize—binary chemical weapons.

V.D. Belyayev began at the end of the 1940's as director of the Khimprom All-Union Production Association. The collapse of the USSR found him in the position of chief of the Main Administration of the Microbiological Industry under the USSR Council of Ministers, which included the biological attack industry. Lenin Prize—sarin and soman (1960).

I.M. Gabov. Deputy chief of the All-Union Association Soyuzorgsintez. State Prize—chemical ammunition (1970). Order of Friendship of Peoples for work on the Foliant Program (1981).

S.V. Golubkov. Traveled the path from chief engineer of the Khimprom All-Union Production Association to deputy minister of the chemical industry of the USSR for special issues. Lenin Prize—soman (1972).

A.Ye. Gusakov. Colonel, chief of "Dioxin" Administration 33 of Central Scientific Research Institute of the USSR Ministry of Defense (Shikhany in Saratov Oblast. This is the head military-chemical testing institute; during its Moscow period, up until the 1960's, it was called the Central Scientific Research Military-Technical Institute.) Since 1988—director of the Moscow Medstatistika Scientific Research Institute (this is an institute of the Third Main Administration under the USSR Ministry of Public Health; he worked not on statistics but on accumulating all the information about chemical weapons, a kind of scout for the military chemical system. State Prize—for "solving special problems" (1978).

K.A. Guskov. Deputy director of the GSNIIOKhT (1963-1988). Lenin Prize—V-gas (1974). Order of the Labor Red Banner—airial chemical ammunition (1980).

I.B. Yevstafyev. General, academician of the Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, since 1992—deputy chief of chemical forces. State Prize for "solving special problems" (1978) and binary weapons (1991).

V.M. Zimin. Director of the Volgograd branch of the GSNIIOKhT, director of the Khimprom All-Union Production Association, administration chief of the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry. Lenin Prize—soman (1972).

A.M. Ivanov. Shop chief of the Khimprom All-Union Production Association, deputy director of GIPROSINTEZ (this is an institute in Volgograd which planned the production of chemical weapons; it had previously been a branch of the Moscow institute of the same profile GSPI-3), chief of the All-Union Association Soyuzorgsintez. Order of Friendship of Peoples for work on the Foliant Program (1981), State Prize for "solving special problems" (1982).

M.I. Kabachnik. Academician of the USSR Academy of Sciences, deputy director and laboratory chief of the institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Stalin Prize—sarin (1946), Lenin Prize—V-gas (1974).

N.N. Kovalev. Deputy chief of chemistry department of USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee], official associate of the State Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers for Military-Industrial Questions. State Prize for work on the Foliant Program (1981) and binary weapons (1991).

A.D. Kuntsevich. General, academician of the USSR Academy of Sciences, deputy chief of chemical forces (1983-1992), chairman of the Committee on Conventional Problems of Chemical and Biological Weapons under the president of the Russian Federation. Hero of Socialist Labor for work on Foliant Program (1981), Lenin Prize—binary weapons (1991).

B.P. Kuchkov. Chief engineer of the Khimprom All-Union Production Association, chief engineer for the administration of Stalingrad Sovnarkhoz [council of the national economy]. Lenin Prize—sarin and soman (1960).

G.S. Leonov. Shop chief of the Khimprom Chemical Production Association, deputy chief of the all-Union association Soyuzorgsintez. State Prize—binary weapons (1991).

L.G. Loskutov. Deputy chief engineer of the Khimprom All-Union Production Association, director of the Volgograd Branch of the GSNIIOKhT. Order of Labor Red Banner for work on the Foliant Program (1981).

I.V. Martynov. Corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, director of the GSNIIOKhT (1961-1978), institute director of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Lenin Prize—soman (1972). Hero of Socialist Labor—V-gas (1974).

N.N. Melnikov. Corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, laboratory chief of the VNIKhSZR. Order of the Labor Red Banner—herbicide weapons (1977).

Yu.I. Musiyshuk. Director of the St. Petersburg NIIGP (this is an institute of the Third Main Administration under the USSR Ministry of Public Health, which officially solved problems of hygiene and occupational pathology in specialized productions). State Prize for "solving special problems" (1982).

G.A. Patrushev. Director of the GSNIIOKhT (1980-1984). State Prize for "solving special problems" (1982).

S.V. Petrov. General, chief of chemical forces (since 1989). Lenin Prize—biological (anti-immunological) weapons (1991).

V.A. Petrunin. Deputy director of the Volsk Branch of the GSNIIOKhT, director of the GSNIIOKhT (since 1983). Lenin Prize—binary weapons (1991).

V.K. Pikalov. General, chief of chemical forces (1969-1989). State Prize for work on Foliant Program (1981).

V.V. Pozdnev. Director of the Khimprom All-Union Production Association. Lenin Prize—sarin and soman (1960), State Prize for "solving special problems" (1982).

V.R. Rembovskiy. Colonel, deputy chief of 33 Central Scientific Research Engineering Institute of the Ministry of Defense, chief of the "dioxin" administration. State Prize—biological (anti-immunological) weapons (1991).

V.M. Romanov. Chief engineer of the Chuvash Production Association Khimprom, chief of the All-Union Association Soyuzorgsintez, deputy minister of the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry. Lenin Prize—V-gas (1974), Order of Lenin for work on Foliant Program (1981).

V.A. Romanchuk. Chief engineer and director of GIPROSINTEZ, director of State Union Planning Institute-3, chief specialist of the State Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers for Military and Industrial Questions. State Prize for "solving special problems" (1978).

O.I. Stuzhuk. Chief engineer and director of GIPROSINTEZ. State Prize for work on Foliant Program (1981).

A.V. Fokin. General, academician of the USSR Academy of Sciences, deputy chief of chemical forces (1969-1973), deputy chief scientific secretary of the USSR Academy of Sciences, institute director of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Lenin Prize—V-gas (1974).

L.S. Shevnitsyn. Since the 1970's permanent general director of the Khimprom Chuvash Production Association. State Prize for "solving special problems" (1978), Hero of Socialist Labor for work on the Foliant Program (1981).

A.G. Shkuro. Deputy director of the Khimprom Chuvash Production Association. State Prize for work on the Foliant Program (1981).

N.N. Yukhtin. Deputy director of the GSNIIOKhT, director of VNIKhSZR. Lenin Prize—sarin and soman (1960). [end box]

In Lieu of an Epitaph

It would be dishonest to the peoples of Russia not to name personally those individuals responsible for declassifying the dirty chemical page of our history—they are President of Russia Boris Yeltsin and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin.

The seriousness of the problem does not require publicistic ardor. Several years ago there was a phrase going around that mankind is sitting on a keg filled with nuclear weapons. Now the missiles are being destroyed and the threat has diminished. But Russia is threatened by another disaster—immense arsenals from military chemistry. It is frightening to calculate how many toxic Chernobyls are concealed there. The truth about the real situation is still being concealed.

It is embarrassing, of course, to declassify this filth, but it is good for us.

From the Editors. We understand that people on the list were following orders and assignments from the government. Today we are not even speaking about their moral responsibility. We want them to understand that the chemical death cannot be stopped without their direct participation.

BELARUS

Twenty-Seven SS-25 Strategic Missiles To Be Dismantled in Russia

AU2212142593 Paris AFP in English 1359 GMT 22 Dec 93

[Text] Minsk, Dec 22 (AFP)—Twenty-seven strategic SS-25 missiles of the 81 deployed in Belarus have been withdrawn from this former Soviet state for dismantling in Russia, the Belarussian defense ministry said Wednesday.

The 27 missiles, whose withdrawal was completed Wednesday, came from the strategic Postavi division in the north, the head of ministry headquarters, General Nikolai Churkin, told AFP.

The 54 other missiles still stationed in Belarus, which are based with two other divisions, must be withdrawn before the end of 1996, according to bilateral accords between Russia and Belarus, both signatories of the 1991 START I strategic disarmament treaty.

Belarus is one of four former Soviet republics with nuclear missiles stationed on its territory, in addition to Russia, Kazakhstan and Ukraine.

Funds Lacking To Fulfill CFE Commitments

LD2812204693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1837 GMT
28 Dec 93

[Text] Sources in the Belarusian government told Interfax that the country's military budget would be 692.4 Bn rubles in 1994.

Valery Pavlov, Deputy State Secretary for National Security and Crime Fighting, thinks that "the Belarusian army will be short of funds for purchases of up-to-date weaponry and personnel training even though parliament met all Defense Ministry's requirements."

Belarus will need nearly \$33 Mn, he said, to honor its commitments to the treaty on limitation of armed forces in Europe.

KAZAKHSTAN**Russia To Lease Baykonur Cosmodrome From Kazakhstan Following Lengthy Negotiations****U.S. Congressmen Visit Cosmodrome**

LD0212171593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1406 GMT
2 Dec 93

[By KAZTAG correspondent Konstantin Borodinov for TASS]

[Text] Almaty, December 2 TASS—A group of U.S. congressmen and experts numbering 35 visited Baykonur cosmodrome on Thursday to study the possibilities of international cooperation under Alpha project. The project envisages the creation of a large international orbital complex which will be launched and serviced from Baykonur cosmodrome.

"The visit by a large delegation like this may signify a decisive turn in Baykonur's destiny," said Galym Abilsiitov, Kazakhstan's deputy premier and minister of science and new technologies. "If the guests get convinced that the cosmodrome can operate effectively, new partners can be found, and it can become possible to operate the cosmodrome on a commercial basis."

Plans for an international space corporation on a basis of Baykonur cosmodrome were set out at a news conference by Yuriy Koptev, director-general of the Russian Space Agency, and Tokhtar Aubakirov, director-general of the Kazakhstan Aerospace Agency. The corporation is planned to be formed with the participation of Russia, Kazakhstan, Ukraine and, possibly, other countries.

Baykonur is living through difficult times. Representatives of Russia and Kazakhstan are to discuss pressing problems and bring closer the stances of the two countries on the ways of practical implementation of intergovernment arrangements.

The heads of the space agencies of the two countries unanimously believe that after the breakup of a great power, Russia and Kazakhstan do not have enough funds to ensure the operation of the huge complex. A number of international projects are considered. The participation of four partners—the United States, Canada, Japan and the European Space Agency uniting 12 countries—is proposed in one of them. There are also plans to lease the cosmodrome. Baykonur is still unmatched in the world.

Contention With Russia

LD0312132093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA
in Russian 3 Dec 93 p 3

[Sergey Kozlov report in the "Kazakhstan" column: "Moscow and Almaty Will Remain in Baykonur. Those Willing May Join In"]

[Text] The press conference by Yuriy Koptev, general director of the Russian Space Agency; his Kazakhstani colleague Tokhtar Aubakirov; and the republic's Deputy Prime Minister Galym Abilsiitov was rather reminiscent of a public showdown, at times turning into a squabble over the future fate of the Baykonur space launching site.

Yet for all the disagreements, "none of us opposes this space launch site," Galym Abilsiitov said. "Everyone wants to preserve it and moreover, develop it further and use it in our interests."

These interests are in the area of joint defense and in implementing a huge civil space program on which Russia is now working.

Russian Space Agency Director Yuriy Koptev also believes that Baykonur occupies quite a definite place: it is irreplaceable.

"Any talk about leaving this site in the future," Koptev noted, "is fraught with very big losses for Russia. I cannot say that they cannot be made up, but these losses may affect extremely badly all our current plans and all the services within the CIS framework that can be rendered with the assistance of space facilities."

According to the Kazakhstani side, however, at present neither Russia nor Kazakhstan have sufficient funds to ensure the viability of the immense technical, production, and social complex. In the past everything was decided from Moscow fairly quickly, using the power of the entire huge country. Now the divided countries, which are incapable of fully ensuring the operation of the space launching site, have decided to share all costs.

"In spite of the fact that Kazakhstan does not have its own space program or direct state interest in the launching site as an object of scientific and technical or production activity," the Kazakhstani deputy prime minister specified, "we are interested in Baykonur's existence and development if only because it is our property. And we have agreed to share the costs of maintaining the space launching center." Kazakhstan's share in the overall spending constituted 6 percent, and Russia's 94 percent. This does not involve space programs but merely the maintenance and operation of the complex.

Today the complex is being worked past repair, rapidly falling into decay. Almaty has expressed its discontent also over the CIS Joint Strategic Forces Command's transfer of the site to the jurisdiction of the Russian Defense Ministry as of the middle of last year, without coordinating with the other CIS participants.

There is now a 40 percent shortage of commissioned officer specialists and a 57 percent shortage of noncommissioned staff. Importantly, manpower is the responsibility of Kazakhstan, which is already experiencing huge difficulties in raising its own army.

The best possible option for organizing the operation of the launching site, in the Kazakhstani leadership's opinion, would be to create on its basis an international space company with the participation of primarily Russia, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, and possibly other countries. This, as is believed here, could attract considerable foreign resources to the project and also help demilitarize the complex.

"So far, however, this idea has not received support from Russia," Kazakhstan's deputy prime minister stated. "But we are also looking for other approaches and do not rule out that for the sake of salvaging the site it may be put up for public sale...."

True, Abelsitov added that this option will undoubtedly be coordinated with Russia, but he did not preclude such a scenario.

The Russian position was presented by Yuriy Koptev. According to him, space activity in the world today is maintained for the most part with state support. In talking about a space company, therefore, it is necessary to establish from the outset who will be supporting it financially.

"To hope that within the next five to six years the space launching site will find such a form, allowing it to become self-sufficient, is unjustified optimism," Koptev said.

If no state funds are invested in the business (and at present it is possible to talk only about Russian money), what can survive is a particular launch pad or a particular line of activity in Baykonur, but nothing more. In addition, so far no foreigners are forthcoming who would be willing to launch rockets from the Kazakhstani site.

Furthermore, Koptev believes, at present it will be practically impossible to attract quickly the 14,000 civilian specialists needed to replace the military space officers. Everyone agrees, however, that it is necessary to try to change the situation and gradually demilitarize the site. Yet the approaches to addressing this problem are fundamentally different. Kazakhstan believes that the questions about the viability of the launching site and of Leninsk city are inseparable, and that Russia must assume responsibility for the whole complex. Moscow for its part supposes that it is impossible to replace the military specialists with civilians in the near future, while operation may be ensured in the form of an international space company but within the framework of state financing, with some services being provided on a commercial basis. It is planned to introduce a transitional period of several years to carry through such changes but with a special condition, namely to make sure that the complex remains part of defense programs.

Lease Arrangement Put Forward

PM0712133193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 7 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Baykonur Under the Hammer?"]

[Text] At a news conference in Almaty Galym Abilsitov, minister of science and new technologies, reported that Kazakhstan does not have its own space program and, consequently, the Baykonur Cosmodrome has to be preserved for the sake of the Russian space program.

He also stated the need to set up without delay an international space company involving foreign capital "for the sake

of saving" the cosmodrome and to open it for the implementation of very diverse international commercial projects.

"If this option is not adopted, Kazakhstan is prepared to consider the question of leasing the Baykonur Cosmodrome and the city of Leninsk to Russia on condition that Russia takes over all the costs," G. Abilsitov said. In that case Kazakhstan will require reimbursing for the expenditure on Baykonur over the past 2.5 years, the minister said.

Soskovets Takes Hard Line

LD2012173993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1656 GMT
20 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Velichko]

[Text] Moscow December 20 TASS—Russia will not give up the Baykonur cosmodrome in Kazakhstan, Russian Vice-Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets said.

Speaking at a meeting devoted to Baykonur's life-support in Moscow on Monday, Soskovets said that "this object is indispensable both for strategic purposes and scientific research."

Russia and Kazakhstan have signed two agreements determining the terms of use and exploitation of Baykonur facilities. Under the agreement, the center is considered to be under Russian jurisdiction.

Vladimir Ivanov, commander of the Russian Aerospace Forces, said that Kazakhstan is "seeking to reconsider the status of the cosmodrome to make it international." He stressed that despite the signed agreements it is necessary to "reconfirm the cosmodrome's Russian status."

Ivanov also called for signing an additional agreement between Russia and Kazakhstan to specify the questions of logistical support and joint financing of the cosmodrome.

The participants in the meeting called for a "reasonable compromise between Russia and Kazakhstan on the exploitation of the cosmodrome facilities." They noted that leasing the cosmodrome to Russia could be one of the forms of cooperation.

Funding Problems a Factor

LD2112111993 Moscow Ostankino Television First
Channel Network in Russian 0900 GMT 21 Dec 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The idea of setting up an international space company on the basis of the Baykonur cosmodrome, as proposed by Kazakhstan and Ukraine, is unrealistic, according to Yuriy Koptev, director of the Russian Federation Space Agency. He stressed that a company like this would not be able to function without major capital investment from Russia.

According to Vladimir Ivanov, commander of the Russian Federation military space forces, Baykonur has received this year only about 2 billion rubles of the 6 billion rubles that Kazakhstan was to allocate to fund the cosmodrome. Russia has to pay more than 30 billion rubles to maintain Baykonur. According to available information, construction and maintenance building work is currently under way at the cosmodrome, but the staffing levels in the space units are running at only 53 percent.

Soskovets Chairs Conference

PM2312145593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 23 Dec 93 p 1

[Igor Petrov report under the "From the Government" rubric: "Baykonur Will Remain Russian, If It Survives at All"]

[Text] A routine working conference chaired by First Deputy Chairman of the Government Oleg Soskovets was devoted to questions of ensuring the Baykonur cosmodrome's viability.

The representatives of the military and civilian space departments who spoke there wasted many words trying to persuade those present—for which there was not the slightest need—that the Baykonur cosmodrome is a unique scientific and technical facility and that Russia needs it to attain its strategic goals in space exploration and to improve its rocket technology.

Expenditure on its upkeep, which has been agreed with the Kazakhstani Government, should come this year to 37 billion rubles [R]. Kazakhstan's share of this is R5.8 billion, but in actual fact the republic has appropriated R1.9 billion. Specialists estimate that at least R169.9 billion will be required next year to ensure the facility's normal operations. Who will bear the cost? Russia, of course, as it has the primary interest in the space programs being carried out and in using this facility. But what then is Kazakhstan's interest in this? Nobody at the conference could provide a comprehensible answer to this key question. Nor could they propose a package of measures which would offer any social guarantees at all to the people working in the harsh conditions at Baykonur today.

It is clear that, unless these questions are answered, the draft memorandum the Russian side is preparing for discussion by the two states' presidents may also become unviable or even useless. At least three such documents on the cosmodrome have been signed, but in the meantime the boiler houses are shutting down, the living quarters are going unheated, ultramodern equipment is being spoiled, and, most important, specialists are leaving.

So will the destruction of this unique space facility come to an end? There is some hope that it will, but with one small proviso: If we finally learn not to impose our conditions on our partners but come to an agreement with them.

Kazakhstan's Negotiating Position

PM2312135593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Boris Vinogradov report: "Moscow Agrees To Lease Baykonur From Kazakhstan"]

[Text] Viktor Chernomyrdin's delegation has flown to Almaty, where it is to hold talks on the whole range of economic relations with Kazakhstan. One of the main issues will be the fate of Baykonur.

Under the May 1992 agreement signed by Boris Yeltsin and Nursultan Nazarbayev, the cosmodrome is a troop formation of the Russian military space forces. While it is in joint use, 94 percent of the cost of maintaining it is borne by Russia, which effectively remains its master. All launches of "Proton" rockets and commercial launches are carried out from Baykonur, as at present they cannot be carried out

from Russia's "Plesetsk" cosmodrome. To construct a new facility capable of replacing Baykonur would take Russia at least seven years, plus enormous sums that the Moscow treasury currently does not have.

Kazakhstan is unable either to service or to operate Baykonur, but nevertheless it would like to gain the status of a space power and is presenting new conditions to Russia. It established its own aerospace agency and put forward the idea of setting up on the basis of Baykonur an international company with the involvement of Ukraine and other countries. Moscow turned this down and stated that it is prepared to lease Baykonur from Kazakhstan.

Before leaving for Almaty, Viktor Chernomyrdin received a letter from his Kazakhstan counterpart, Sergey Tereshchenko, saying that Kazakhstan agrees in principle to this option, but is asking for an excessive sum from Russia—several billion dollars a year for the right to use Baykonur. We were told at the Russian Space Agency that in this instance Kazakhstan's appetites exceed not only Russia's capabilities but all headings of the Baykonur budget. And this is despite the fact that the space research carried out at Baykonur has never yielded revenue.

The problem of Baykonur is closely linked with the problem of the status of the Russian Army on Kazakhstan's territory. At present the Russian servicemen at the cosmodrome, and also at other facilities, incidentally, have the status of foreigners. There is no treaty on military cooperation between Moscow and Almaty. It is quite possible that the leasing of Baykonur would set a precedent whereby all other Russian military facilities in nearby foreign countries would be regarded as bases for which payment should be made.

At present Kazakhstan merely keeps an eye on order at Baykonur and sees to it that nothing goes missing from this large facility. It has introduced customs controls, posted military guards, expropriated a number of Russian Army buildings and offices, and carried out a careful inventory of all property.

Quid Pro Quos

PM2712201593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Dec 93 p 1

[Report by Anatoliy Ladin and Oleg Falichev: "Russian 'Nuclear Umbrella' Under the Kazakh Sun?"]

[Text] The talks between the delegations of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan in Almaty ended on 25 December. A considerable part of those talks was devoted to military problems.

On the basis of the results of the meeting the heads of governments signed among other things the memorandum "On Mutual Understanding on Questions of Ensuring the Functioning of the Baykonur Space Center." Commenting on the documents presented for signing, Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation, noted that they now make it possible to carry out all work at the space center normally and determine the procedure for the shipment across the border of the goods necessary for work to be conducted at Baykonur. The Russian military contingent is remaining here and its daily life and activity will be governed by Russian laws.

Viktor Stepanovich also added that the heads of the Russian and Kazakhstan governments have been instructed by those states' presidents to prepare documents on military and military-technical cooperation in January 1994.

What does the memorandum say? It is important that it speaks not only about the space center but also about the test ranges sited on the territory of the Republic of Kazakhstan and about military cooperation. It is envisaged that Russia will use the military installations under lease from the Republic of Kazakhstan. In this regard the operation of the Baykonur space center and the test ranges will be ensured by the Russian Government or authorized organs of state administration. The Russian military formations supporting these installations are stationed on Kazakhstan's territory temporarily. Their status will be determined by a separate agreement.

During the talks process the heads of the Russian and Kazakhstan governments expressed mutual satisfaction at the fact that the Republic of Kazakhstan has affiliated to the nuclear weapons nonproliferation treaty as a state not possessing nuclear weapons. The Russian side has expressed a readiness to offer guarantees of safety to Kazakhstan as a nonnuclear weapon state together with other depositories of the nuclear weapons nonproliferation treaty and at the same time to give military assistance if necessary to repulse external aggression and to counter other encroachments on the security and territorial integrity of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

The sides recognized the need to begin holding bilateral talks on the implementation of the START I treaty and the package of Lisbon accords as well as the need to agree a timetable in the very near future for the withdrawal of all the nuclear warheads in the Republic of Kazakhstan to Russian territory.

At the talks the sides also examined questions of scrapping the strategic offensive weapons stationed in Kazakhstan and to reimburse the republic the equivalent value of the fissionable materials and components of the nuclear weapons and so forth.

As we can see, they relate to the most acute and vital problems affecting the life and service of Russian servicemen in this republic. The fact that the ice has finally been broken here is perhaps the most important outcome of these talks. After all, people in uniform, for all their discipline and composure, must have clear prospects and guarantees of social and legal protection. Here, you would think, there is still broad scope for the work of the politicians and lawyers: In addition to Baykonur and the ranges there are other Russian military units stationed in Kazakhstan. For example, it has part of the missile early warning system. Status and the conditions for continued presence abroad must be defined for these units, too. Meanwhile, unfortunately, all they can do is wait and hope.

Agreement Finalized

PM2712170993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Vladimir Ardayev report: "Russia To Lease Baykonur From Kazakhstan"]

[Text] Almaty—The visit to Kazakhstan by a Russian Government group headed by Viktor Chernomyrdin,

chairman of the Council of Ministers, has ended with the signing of a number of documents which attest that agreement in principle has been reached on such questions as organizing the use of the Baykonur space center and military ranges located on Kazakhstan's territory as well as cooperation in the sphere of the fuel and energy complex.

The most important of the documents to be signed is the heads of governments' memorandum of mutual understanding on questions of ensuring the functioning of the Baykonur space center. As Russian Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin explained in conversation with your correspondent, the governments have been able to agree on the main principle: Russia will use the space center under lease from Kazakhstan. This principle also extends to the military test sites located on Kazakh territory. Russian specialists and military contingents will be based there and equipment will be deployed there. Russian law will apply at the leased installations, apparently side by side with Kazakhstani law. Chernomyrdin stressed that the principle is reciprocal: Kazakhstan may maintain its military installations in Russia on the same terms.

The actual conditions of the lease—the scale of payment and the term—have not been decided yet, but Shokhin has noted that in his view the optimum lease on Baykonur would run for 99 years.

Answering a question from your IZVESTIYA correspondent, Chernomyrdin said that work to ensure the functioning of Baykonur could begin "right away" without waiting for the signing of the concretizing documents, which is due to take place in January.

The situation which has developed at the space center as a result of the uncertainty over its status has now led to extreme consequences. This unique complex, which belongs not only to Kazakhstan and Russia but also to all mankind, is in a very sorry state. Some of the launch installations have become unfit for use [okazalis razmorozhennymi], some of the equipment has been put out of commission, while some has simply been stolen.

The settlement of the question of ownership is no less important for other military sites too. A completely paradoxical situation, according to Shokhin, has developed with regard to the strategic nuclear weapon basing zones: Ballistic missiles which have been declared the property of Kazakhstan continue to be serviced by the Russian military! However, such a situation with regard to nuclear weapons is not just nonsensical, it is downright dangerous.

In Shokhin's words, the question of the ownership of the uranium component of the nuclear missiles stationed in Kazakhstan and subject to dismantling was also discussed. It is proposed that Russia will take part in the actual process of dismantling. In addition, the reprocessing of the highly enriched "military" uranium will also be carried out in Russia because only Russia has the necessary technologies.

Vice President Gore in Almaty 14 December

Hails NPT Decision, Agreement With U.S.

LD1412205693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1728 Gmt 14 Dec 93

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[Text] By an overwhelming majority of 237 votes, the Kazakh parliament ratified the nuclear non-proliferation treaty on Monday. One deputy was opposed and others abstained.

U.S. Vice President Albert Gore, visiting Almaty, had given a positive reaction to the news saying the treaty would serve to promote the cause of peace and economic development in Central Asia as a whole. He also spoke of signs of progress in nuclear disarmament talks with Ukraine which instilled optimism.

The Vice President had also praised the Kazakh-U.S. agreement on dismantling nuclear weapons of the former Soviet Union deployed in Kazakhstan. A bilateral working commission is due to sit to work out an appropriate schedule soon.

The ratification of the treaty, said Gore, marks an entirely new stage of relations between Kazakhstan and the United States. He said strategic cooperation was based not only on shared positions in respect of nuclear weapons but also in many economic agreements designed to help promote the private sector in Kazakhstan.

Gore announced that the Central Asian Business Fund was due to open its office in Almaty whose main task would be to provide aid to Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan as countries which embrace more consistent economic reforms than others.

For his part, President Nursultan Nazarbayev said his country was "honoring its obligations in respect of nuclear weapons." However, he said Kazakhstan had set its own conditions for dismantling them. The main one is Kazakhstan wants to hold back to [as received] electronic and other equipment for subsequent use in the economy before missile-containing silos are destroyed.

Gore said the Kazakh leader had accepted President Clinton's invitation to visit the U.S. on February 14.

Gives Press Conference

LD1412081193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0748 GMT 14 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Vladimir Akimov and Amangeldy Akhmedalimov]

[Text] Almaty December 14 TASS— U.S. Vice President Albert Gore met journalists here today before flying to Moscow. He described the talks he had in Kazakhstan as fruitful and mutually useful not only for Kazakh-American relations, but for strengthening regional and international security, too.

Gore said that the signing of a framework agreement on dismantling intercontinental ballistic missiles silo launchers in Kazakhstan proved the desire of both sides to develop mutually equitable relations. Moreover, an agreement was reached on bilateral cooperation in liquidating the consequences of accidents and establishing an intergovernmental communication line. It is worth noting that the Kazakh parliament ratified the nuclear weapons Non-Proliferation Treaty as a non-nuclear state on the day of the Kazakh-American negotiations.

An important step was made towards expanding economic relations. For instance, the sides have signed a protocol on

the exchange of ratification instruments of an agreement to encourage and mutually protect capital investments. An agreement on cooperation in science and technology was ratified for the time being. According to Gore, it will be signed during Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev's visit to the United States on February 14, 1994.

The sides have discussed the possibility of cooperating in the exploitation of the Baykonur cosmodrome, protecting the environment in regions adjoining the Aral sea and the former Semipalatinsk nuclear testing ground. Gore said that the United States was ready to render Kazakhstan concrete assistance in organising the regional management of water resources.

The sides also had a frank exchange of views on the situation in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). The views of the two sides were very close or identical.

Country Joins NPT

Parliament Ratifies Treaty

LD1312151993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1421 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Kazakhstan's parliament on Monday ratified the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons of July 1, 1968. Kazakhstan joined the treaty as a non-nuclear state.

Russia's Congratulations

LD1412183693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1519 GMT 14 Dec 93

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature: By diplomatic correspondents Dmitriy Voskoboinikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy and others]

[Text] Russia welcomes Kazakhstan's joining the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty as a denuclearized state, the chief Russian negotiator at the talks with Kazakhstan, Gennadiy Uranov, told INTERFAX.

Almaty ratified the START-I Treaty and the Lisbon Protocol back in July last year, but delayed its joining the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty for a long time, he said. "Now this problem has been resolved, which laid the foundations for stepping up the talks between Russia and Kazakhstan, including negotiations on cooperation in the military area," the diplomat said.

Another senior Foreign Ministry official, who is also responsible for Russia's relations with Kazakhstan, told INTERFAX that Kazakhstan's joining the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and the U.S. Vice President Albert Gore's visit to Almaty were not coincidental. "The fact that the U.S.A. allocates money for nuclear disarmament in Kazakhstan evidently influenced the step taken by the Kazakh leadership," he said.

He also said that the success scored at the parliamentary elections in Russia by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party "may somewhat complicate relations between Russia and Kazakhstan." "Zhirinovskiy's territorial and other claims on Almaty are known well enough," he concluded.

TAJIKISTAN

International Space Research Center Planned

LD0301091594 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian
0410 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] It is planned to set up an international space research center in Tajikistan. Our correspondent Raisa Mukhiddinova with the details:

Mukhiddinova: The Tajik Government has passed the decision to set up an international space research center at the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of Tajikistan. Imombabadzhanov [name as heard], candidate of physics-mathematical sciences, is appointed to administer it. Twenty years ago in the East Pamirs, he set up a small x-ray emission station, which in time was turned into one of the largest in the world. The scientist said that in the summer of 1993 the world's scientific public was alarmed with reports that the x-ray emission station in the Pamirs was threatened with closure. Many famous scientists started writing to the government and Academy of Sciences of the republic on the need to preserve and restore this installation, so unique in the world.

To understand their alarm, one must go into the history of the question a little. Everyone now knows that when studying the world of elementary particles, scientists came up against many mysterious and complex phenomena, which were impossible to reproduce using the most expensive modern accelerators. But interest in the interaction of particles accompanied by super high energies increased and it was necessary to find new possibilities for studying the processes taking place. The idea arose of using a natural accelerator, in particular cosmic rays or flows of particles with super high energies, which the universe continually sends to earth. These particles are caught by various pieces of equipment, but the most economical and effective method is fixing them onto a film using an x-ray emission camera. Such a camera, the biggest in the world, was created in the Pamirs.

UKRAINE

Kiev Dismantles SS-24 Nuclear Missiles

Announcement Made 20 December

AU2012173193 Paris AFP in English 1722 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev, Dec 20 (AFP)—Ukraine is to dismantle almost half of the 46 SS-24 nuclear missiles in its nuclear arsenal inherited from the former Soviet Union, Deputy Prime Minister Valery Shmarov said Monday.

He said Ukraine would dismantle 20 of the 46 strategic missiles by the end of this month.

The decision comes only days after last week's meeting of top Ukrainian, Russian and U.S. officials. Until now Ukraine has refused to give up the weapons without security guarantees from the United States.

Deactivation Tied to Trilateral Talks

LD2012213393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2015 GMT
20 Dec 93

[Text] By the middle of December Ukraine had removed from operational service 17 nuclear SS-24 missiles and

detached the warheads from the delivery medium, the Ukrainian Vice Premier for the Military-Industrial Complex, Valeriy Shmarov, told INTERFAX-Ukraine.

We hope that our partners in nuclear arms negotiations will appreciate this unilateral step, he said. Shmarov said that the deactivation of missiles was a labor-intensive process, however, Ukraine was well aware of that, when it made the decision. The Vice Premier said that in 1994 the rest of the SS-24 missiles stationed in Ukraine must be deactivated.

Shmarov also said that Russian experts continued to service nuclear warheads in Ukraine. The Ukrainian Vice Premier dismissed as populist and senseless the Russian government's statement to the effect that such servicing had been stopped.

In the course of trilateral talks, American, Ukrainian and Russian delegates had in Kiev last week progress was achieved in resolving the problem of Ukraine's nuclear disarmament, Shmarov said. For instance, he said, the question of compensation to Ukraine for the tactical nuclear arms removed earlier, became specific. For instance, Ukraine said it would agree to accept a smaller compensation, if Russia were to write off Ukraine's debt to it.

The sides achieved understanding on the need to hand over to Ukraine enriched uranium in exchange for nuclear warheads. Shmarov said that Ukrainian experts had computed the amount. "Probably that uranium will be processed and handed over to the United States under a Russian-US contract," Shmarov said.

The United States Deputy Defence Secretary William Perry is reported to have said during the talks that Washington was considering an additional 400 million dollars in compensation to Ukraine for nuclear disarmament.

So far the United States has given Ukraine 175 million dollars under the Nunn-Lugar amendment in technical and other assistance for removing nuclear missiles from Ukraine.

More on Talks

LD2012210693 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1800 GMT
20 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev—As UNIAN reported, on 16-17 December there were trilateral talks between the delegations of Ukraine, Russia, and the United States on issues connected with the ratification of START I by the Supreme Council of Ukraine. The leader of the Ukrainian delegation at the talks, Deputy Prime Minister Valeriy Shmarov granted an exclusive interview to a UNIAN correspondent.

As Shmarov emphasized, the date of the trilateral talks was not agreed in advance. A decision on the meeting of the delegations of the United States, Russia, and Ukraine was taken promptly. The visit to Moscow by U.S. Vice President Albert Gore probably gave an impetus to holding the meeting. During Albert Gore's meeting with the Russian leadership, the issue of nuclear armaments was touched upon.

However, as Valeriy Shmarov pointed out, Ukraine was precisely insisting on holding trilateral talks, being convinced that this would be the most effective form of achieving agreement on START I ratification and implementation. Therefore, the fact that such consultations did

take place and that they will be continued in the future can be regarded as the first success. The resolution of the Supreme Council of Ukraine on the ratification of START I, with the reservations formulated by the Ukrainian parliament, was the first and foremost issue discussed at the consultations.

Ukraine's representatives had an opportunity to clearly comment on these reservations. These, as a matter of fact, represent that working plan according to which the parliament and the government of Ukraine have to work so as to achieve "pure" ratification of the treaty. The members of the Ukrainian delegation emphasized three main issues concerning which Ukraine hopes to find understanding with the partners: Obtaining political guarantees from nuclear states; gaining compensation for nuclear weapons transferred from Ukraine, tactical weapons in particular; and receiving technical and financial assistance in the implementation of the disarmament project.

Most understanding was reached on the issue of compensation for tactical nuclear weapons. For the first time ever a proposal was formulated: To solve the issue through Russia writing off Ukraine's debts for energy. However, this decision was not approved because, in the opinion of the participants in the talks, it is necessary to discuss these issues in greater detail with experts.

As far as strategic weapons are concerned, the energy uranium required by Ukraine's nuclear power stations was offered as compensation. In case this issue is solved in a positive manner Ukraine's needs for this raw material would be satisfied for 5 years. Such a mechanism is acceptable in principle and technical coordination has been planned. The issues of compensations for the tactical and strategic nuclear weapons were discussed as one package.

Today it is still early to mention any specific sum because no final calculations have been made and they have not been coordinated with experts. Ukraine's representatives believe that these could amount to hundreds of millions of dollars because, according to average world prices, for example, the price of one kilogram of highly enriched uranium is \$15,000.

According to Valeriy Shmarov, the U.S. and Russian sides are concerned most of all about the issue of Ukraine's pace in fulfilling the provisions of START I, in particular, deactivation of the latest SS-24 missiles. Ukraine takes a clear stand: One can immediately talk about the types [as received] after the reservations formulated by the Supreme Council are fulfilled.

Already today Ukraine is making specific steps toward nuclear arms reduction: The deactivation of SS-24 missiles is under way—17 such missiles have been withdrawn from combat duty and put under control, and by the end of the year their number will reach 20. As a matter of fact, two regiments will be disarmed. This is evidence of Ukraine's course toward a non-nuclear status. It is ready to further continue this work but it hopes for adequate moves on the part of the partners, the United States and Russia. In particular, Valeriy Shmarov remarked that the pace of elimination of nuclear weapons in Ukraine depends very much on financial assistance. At present it is insufficient. The aid is mainly rendered in the form of consultations, and delivery of computer or space communications systems.

The following problems, however, remain unsolved: What is to be used to transport the dismantled warheads, where is the fuel to be taken, and where is the money to come from?

The Ukrainian side does not shrink from the opinion that \$2.5 billion should be spent on complete nuclear disarmament, including the social protection of servicemen, restoration of order on the territories, etc. Today, due to the economic crisis, it is difficult for Ukraine to shoulder such a burden and at the same time to abide by the fixed terms. However, the members of the Ukrainian delegation emphasized that despite the economic difficulties the START I treaty will be unconditionally fulfilled. If Ukraine raises the issue of financial aid, then it only has in mind speeding up the pace of nuclear weapons elimination. Ukraine will further carry out voluntary disarmament under conditions of universal support.

According to the deputy prime minister, the current consultations failed to formulate the issue on political guarantees in a clear-cut manner. However, he expressed satisfaction with the relatively high level of representation of the delegations which took part in the negotiations and also the high level of competence of the experts who arrived with the U.S. and Russian delegations. As Valeriy Shmarov indicated, he hopes that by such a composition it will be possible to draft a document that can be submitted to the top leaders of the states for signing.

The participants in the meeting agreed to continue their work in one month's time. However, the Ukrainian representatives are today already preparing information based on the materials of the consultations for Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk, because at the meeting of the CIS heads of state in Ashgabat the Ukrainian side intends to raise materials from the trilateral talks for a dialogue between the Russian and Ukrainian presidents, although the discussion of this issue was not planned in advance.

Deputy Foreign Minister on Deactivation

LD2112185393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1438 GMT
21 Dec 93

[Text] The program of an early deactivation of nuclear weapons deployed in Ukraine covers all types of missiles, including SS-24s, Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Tarasyuk said in Kiev on Tuesday.

Asked why Kiev decided to deactivate the weapons, he said there was no reason to try to keep on combat duty a missile which Ukraine could not and was not going to use anyway.

Tarasyuk said different options were being discussed by negotiators from Russia, Ukraine, and the U.S. on how to compensate for the transfer of nuclear weapons to Russia. However, he declined to comment on a reaction from Russia and the United States to Kiev's proposal to reduce its debt to Moscow at the cost of tactical nuclear weapons.

Tarasyuk does not rule that Moscow and Washington have agreed to talk with Ukraine following the process of deactivating its nuclear weapons. But he gave no evidence to back his theory.

The minister stressed that the Ukrainian government would do its utmost to lift the strings attached by the Supreme Soviet while ratifying the Start-I agreement.

Tarasyuk denied allegations of Ukrainian weapons exports to countries falling under the U.N. arms embargo such as Libya, Iraq, South Africa, and the former Yugoslavia. However, he said there were a number of incidents of weapons transfers to such countries and areas of conflict by go-between companies. The minister admitted to mistakes made in the transfer of dual purpose technologies. However, he said Kiev had at one time intervened to prevent the transfer of chemical fuel for missiles to Libya.

Foreign Ministry Briefing Reported

LD2112210793 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service
in Ukrainian 1700 GMT 21 Dec 93

[Excerpts] **Announcer:** We have already reported that a briefing for Ukrainian and foreign journalists was held at the Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Ministry on 21 December. This briefing was attended by my colleague, esteemed Andriy Chyrva.

Chyrva: [passage omitted: introductory remarks] You may be aware by now of the situation where some of the mass media, in particular REUTERS and the Voice of America, reported yesterday that Ukraine had taken 17 SS-24 intercontinental ballistic missiles off combat alert. This issue, naturally being of great interest to journalists, they wanted to hear the confirmation of that fact from Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Borys Tarasyuk, who took part in the briefing.

I would like to say that this issue is quite complex and I would like to be precise and quote precisely what Borys Tarasyuk said.

Announcer: Please do.

Chyrva: He said that the early deactivation program did not only cover the SS-19 missile systems. This was due to the complexity of these installations, consisting of not only missiles, but nuclear warheads subject to guaranteed maintenance terms of their own. Thus, what it concerns is not separate types of missile systems, but exactly those where the term of guaranteed maintenance is running out, that are being taken off combat alert or are subject to the early deactivation program. This, as it were, is what Mr. Tarasyuk officially stated.

Announcer: So this is the first report that somewhat contravenes the one carried, in particular, by the REUTERS agency. It adds quite essentially to the accuracy [of what is at issue] too, in my view. That is to say, what concerns is that only those ballistic missiles are at issue that have already become lifeless, as it were, or not combat ready. Is that so?

Chyrva: Yes, of course. Tarasyuk said that work was under way in Ukraine to carry out the so-called deactivation of missile systems. In essence, it is to remove the warheads and store them in Ukraine at a considerable distance from the missile sites. This is what, in my view, the issue is.

The second important issue, raised by Borys Tarasyuk, was that of the participation of the Ukrainian delegation at the consultative meeting with representatives of Cocom [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls]

member countries. [passage omitted: Chyrva reporting on Tarasyuk's account of government measures to control the export of strategic materials]

Chyrva: Another interesting issue: Mr. Tarasyuk produced quite a large folder or file containing materials on the list of commodities and technologies prohibited from being transferred or traded to Ukraine by Cocom member countries. You know that this issue was very sensitive for us at the time of the Cold War and there were restrictions—and very extensively so too—that were in the way of our trade with the West, and that between the West and ourselves. That is why this whole issue now—and Mr. Tarasyuk spoke about it—should be raised and somehow agreed so that our relations in trade and economic relations with the West could, after all, develop properly and so that we could trade, including trade in high technologies and dual-purpose technologies. [passage omitted: announcer reiterating the above]

Chyrva: What I would also like to mention in conclusion is that (the last) question asked, that of course concerns and interests everybody, was on arms trade, i.e. whether Ukraine trades in weapons.

Announcer: Which weapons?

Chyrva: I mean conventional weapons, I do not mean nuclear weapons but conventional weapons. So Mr. Tarasyuk said that on the issue of arms trade Ukraine proceeded from existing principles, and was governed by those bans on trade with those countries in respect of which there were relevant United Nations Security Council sanctions. We all know, and our foreign listeners may know, that these are such countries as the Republic of Yugoslavia, Libya, the Republic of South Africa, and Iraq. These are those countries where we [word indistinct]. As for that, I have already said that it is strictly governed by existing principles. As for where and whom arms [are being sold], it was not (?discussed). [passage omitted: announcer contemplating on Ukraine's stance on arms trade]

Kravchuk Confirms 17 Missiles Taken Off Combat Alert

LD2212112893 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0839 GMT
22 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev [no dateline as received] —Requested to comment on Deputy Prime Minister Valeriy Shmarov's statement in connection with missile systems being taken off combat alert, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk said on 21 November [date as received] that, indeed, 17 SS-24 missile systems had been taken off combat alert in Ukraine. This does not constitute a violation of the law, he explained, since the latter does not deal with missiles being taken off combat alert, but only with them being withdrawn from Ukrainian territory. "It is better to take missiles off combat alert. Then they will not be used by anyone because the nuclear button is in Russia and no mention of that fact is made by those talking now about law violation."

The issue of compensation and security guarantees, in the president's words, will be provided for in a trilateral agreement between Russia, Ukraine, and the United States. "This agreement will put none of the states in an awkward position," said Kravchuk.

No Comment From Defense Ministry*AU2312124393 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian
22 Dec 93 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "A Serious Step"]

[Text] An extensive range of issues associated with the ratification of START-I and the reservations that are listed in the Ukrainian Parliament's decree on this problem were discussed in Kiev last week. The delegations of the United States headed by S. Talbott, ambassador-at-large and special adviser to the secretary on the newly independent states, and of Russia headed by Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs G. Mamedov took part in the negotiations. The Ukrainian delegation was headed by Vice Prime Minister V. Shmarov.

As reported by the Ukrainian Presidential and Cabinet of Ministers Press Service, the sides agreed that questions of Ukraine's security should be jointly resolved with Russia and the United States on questions of the elimination of missiles. As reported by the UNIAN press agency, V. Shmarov said that particularly good understanding was reached with regard to compensation for both tactical nuclear weapons transferred to Russia and strategic missiles. The vice prime minister also stated that Ukraine had already taken 17 of the most up-to-date SS-24 missiles off combat alert. V. Shmarov considers this to be a serious step attesting to the fact that our state is striving to pursue a nuclear-free policy.

The Press Center of Ukraine's Ministry of Defense has not confirmed V. Shmarov's information that the deactivating the SS-24 missiles has begun. The UNIAN correspondent was told that the Ministry of Defense is not authorized to comment upon such statements.

SEGODNYA Commentary*MK2212101093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian
22 Dec 93 p 1*

[Pavel Felgengauer report in the "Disarmament" column: "Ukraine Has Gone Ahead With Abolishing Its Nuclear Potential. Has Russian and U.S. Pressure Yielded Results?"]

[Text] Recently Ukraine has speeded up the dismantling of the nuclear missile potential it has inherited. On 20 December Valeriy Shmarov, Ukrainian vice premier in charge of the military industrial complex, announced that 17 nuclear SS-24 missiles (in all there are 46 SS-24's in Ukraine) have been taken off alert. Combat nuclear units (more than 100) have been taken down from missiles, yet they still remain in silos. Before the end of the year Ukraine has promised to dismantle warheads from yet another three SS-24 missiles. And in 1994, according to Valeriy Shmarov, the remaining SS-24 missiles located on Ukraine's territory are to be taken off alert status. This, in spite of the fact that back on 11 August Grishchenko, head of the Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Ministry's Arms Control and Disarmament Department, announced that, in Kiev's opinion, the Ukrainian SS-24's do not come under the START I Treaty and therefore may legally be kept.

The Russian Defense Ministry confirmed that 17 warheads have indeed been taken down from SS-24 missiles. In addition, according to the Russian Defense Ministry,

nuclear units have been dismantled from 41 Ukrainian SS-19 missiles (more than 200 units) while part of the SS-19 missiles have already been taken out of their silos for subsequent destruction. Therefore approximately one-third of the Ukrainian nuclear missile capability has been taken off alert. Clearly the joint Russian-U.S. diplomatic and economic pressure has finally resulted in appreciable shifts in Kiev's position. A U.S. State Department spokesman in Washington welcomed Ukraine's latest moves as "a step in the right direction."

True, full elimination of all nuclear missile disagreements between Moscow and Kiev is still a long way off. Valeriy Shmarov said that Russian specialists continue to service the nuclear charges located on Ukraine's territory, and described the Russian Government statement that such servicing has been stopped as "populist and uncalled for." Nonetheless, Colonel General Yevgeniy Maslin, chief of the 12th Main Directorate of the Russian Defense Ministry (earlier a highly classified branch of the Soviet Army whose specialists deal with all matters of storage, use, and transportation of nuclear units and are generally responsible for all nuclear charges adopted for service), assured SEGODNYA's correspondent that "there are no Russian military servicemen from the 12th Directorate in Ukraine." However, the 43rd Missile Army deployed in Ukraine includes former specialists of the 12th Main Directorate who have "stayed" in Ukraine together with the army and sworn the Ukrainian military oath, and can not now be considered Russian servicemen.

Furthermore, only three defective SS-24 missile warheads have been delivered to Russian territory and transferred to specialists of the Atomic Energy Ministry (former Sredmash). The other decommissioned missile nuclear units are so far in Ukraine. As before, the 43rd Army's combat unit storage facilities remain overloaded in excess of all norms (six to eight times, according to the 12th Main Directorate).

The question about the form and size of compensation to Ukraine for nuclear disarmament also remains open.

IZVESTIYA Quotes Kravchuk*PM2312123193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
23 Dec 93 First Edition p 2*

[Report by Mariya Starozhitskaya of UNIAN: "Ukrainian President Holds Review of Political Forces"]

[Excerpt] Kiev—Leonid Kravchuk's meeting with the leaders of practically all the political parties registered by the Ukrainian Ministry of Justice (31 at present) was held, as was emphasized repeatedly, on an initiative from below. [passage omitted]

At the request of journalists Leonid Kravchuk commented on the standing down of 17 SS-24 missile complexes. "This does not violate the law," he said. "The law stipulates removal from Ukrainian territory; this way the missiles are in the silos but the warheads have been dismantled. Why should they be on standby when the nuclear button is actually in Russia? It is better to stand them down: This way they will not be used by anyone."

Compensation and security guarantees will be stipulated in a trilateral agreement between Ukraine, Russia, and the United States.

Greater Yalta Proclaimed 'Nuclear-Free Zone'

AU2912131493 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian
25 Dec 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Greater Yalta Has Been Proclaimed a Nuclear-Free Zone"]

[Text] The 20th session of the Yalta Town Council adopted a statement "On Proclaiming the Territory of Greater Yalta a Nuclear-Free Zone." The Yalta Town Council takes upon itself an obligation not to allow the installation, deployment, maintenance, or storage of nuclear weapons or other radioactive materials on its territory. The transit or transportation of nuclear components, including the arrival of ships with nuclear weapons on board to the port, is forbidden. It was decided to establish efficient control over adherence to the nuclear-free status. The statement was sent to Ukraine's Supreme Council, to the Crimean Supreme Council, and to the committee of the International Secretariat "The Movement of Local Authorities in Nuclear-Free Zones" (Manchester, Great Britain). The deputies turned to local organs of power of the Black Sea Region with a proposal to support their statement.

UN Envoy Criticizes U.S., Russian Pressure on Nuclear Issue

LD0401212994 Kiev Ukrayinske Telebachennya Network
in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 4 Jan 94

[No video available]

[Text] Viktor Batyuk, our state's permanent representative at the United Nations, took part in a briefing at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs today. He noted in particular that Ukraine's delegation has done great work explaining Ukraine's foreign policy. Unfortunately, however, it is nevertheless impossible to surpass the activity of one delegation and the furious pressure on the part of the mass media and government structures of the United States and Russia, which are distorting our stance regarding nuclear weapons, said Viktor Batyuk.

Officials Inspect Nuclear Facilities

Visit Warhead Storage Sites

LD1612211293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2035 GMT
16 Dec 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Kiev December 16 TASS—The press release circulated here on Thursday [16 December] described as not conforming to reality the reports by some mass media about critical condition of nuclear facilities on Ukrainian territory. The press release was issued following an inspection tour of units and facilities of the strategic missile forces by Ukrainian Defence Minister Vitaliy Radetsky accompanied by officials responsible for the maintenance of nuclear facilities. On a commission from the Ukrainian president, they visited depots for temporary storage of nuclear warheads removed from missiles to assess their condition.

"There actually are certain maintenance problems," said Vladimir Mityuk, commander of the 43rd Army of the strategic missile forces, who took part in the trip. "And this is quite explicable. But there are no grounds to lay it on thick. The situation on nuclear facilities is fully under control, and we have all necessary means and resources for

this. Any attempts at drawing an analogy to Chernobyl or anything of the kind is absolutely inadmissible," he stressed.

According to Valeriy Vasilyev, commander of Ukraine's strategic air forces, the nuclear ammunition is presently "preserved reliably." Although the air forces also face certain problems, the situation is still far from critical. Such assertions do not conform to reality, he noted.

The press release quotes Radetsky as saying a package of documents has been prepared for discussion at the proposed meeting with the Russian defence minister. The main thing, he believes, is the mutual desire of the two sides "to find a constructive solution to all existing problems."

The press release assesses the present state of Ukrainian nuclear facilities as satisfactory. Additional measures are being taken "to maintain nuclear warheads in proper conditions and to provide strategic troops with all necessary things."

Claim Missile Sites Pose No Danger

LD1712171593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1439 GMT
17 Dec 93

[Text] Ukraine's Defense Minister Vitaliy Radetsky has completed an inspection of strategic units and missile sites.

"The state of missile installations is satisfactory. We are doing all we can and more to protect and safely store nuclear warheads and provide strategic forces with everything they need."

He reports in a statement, released by the republic's Defense Ministry, that he visited a depot for nuclear warheads, removed from missiles, and says that the purpose of his mission was to impartially assess the state of nuclear sites.

He notes that he checked all nuclear sites at the president's request and in line with a special program.

"We have enough problems to resolve on the threshold of negotiations with Russia on these issues." He revealed plans for early talks with his Russian counterpart Pavel Grachev to discuss a whole set of documents. "What's most important for Ukraine and Russia is eagerness to work hard toward nuclear disarmament," Radetsky stressed, and warned against dramatizing the situation, as some journalists and politicians do.

Meanwhile, the Commander of Ukraine's 43 Strategic Missile Troops Army Vladimir Migtyuk has admitted that "technical maintenance problems really exist." However, in his words, "there is no reason to lay it on thick." "Nuclear facilities are fully under control, he assured, we have all means for that." He dismissed as far-fetched attempts to draw a parallel to Chernobyl or anything else.

The Ukrainian Air-Force Commander Valeriy Vasilyev has announced that the nuclear warheads on board strategic aircraft "are reliably protected." He refuted allegations that their condition was appalling.

Colonel Valeriy Izmalkov, a member of the Parliamentary Commission on Defence and Security Affairs dismissed as "absolutely baseless" some foreign assertions that Ukraine will declassify the operative missile management codes in the coming months.

In his words, these codes are not possible to declassify. Only U.S. and Russian Headquarters could re-target missiles after making essential calculations. "Ukraine is not ready for that," Izmalkov remarked.

Senior Official Proposes Sequence of START I Implementation*WS2212142493 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 1100 GMT 22 Dec 93*

[Text] The formula that Russia is imposing on us, according to which we would join the START treaty before it comes into force, is unacceptable—not to mention that it has a tinge of political pressure; this was declared today by Oleksandr Shevtsov, executive director of the National Strategic Research Institute, in an interview to HOLOS YKRAYINY. In this context, the U.S. Senate resolution on the ratification of START I is more comprehensive and prescient. However, given the present situation of Ukraine, Oleksandr Shevtsov emphasized, it would be the most realistic thing if the nonproliferation treaty implementation had the following sequence: Meeting conditions that are included in the treaty so that START I obtains validity, exchanging ratification instruments, and then commencing the treaty's practical implementation, which would result in the complete removal of nuclear weapons from our territory.

Kiev Responds To Missile Code-Breaking Attempt Charges**Ministry Denies Attempt***LD1012160393 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 2310 GMT 9 Dec 93*

[Text] Kiev, 9 December—In its bulletin of 8 December 1993, carrying a report entitled "Ukraine Satisfied With Retargeting Missiles," the private English-speaking news agency Intelnews quotes the director of the press center of the Ukrainian Defense Ministry, Ihor Melnychenko, as saying that "a group of scientists is working on breaking the codes of Ukrainian missiles. If we get these codes, we shall then be able to retarget the missiles."

The press service of the Ukrainian Defense Ministry has officially denied this report and stated that no such data has been provided for the Intelnews agency by representatives of the Ukrainian Defense Ministry. Ukraine exercises administrative control over nuclear weapons and is taking steps to prevent the use of them.

The Defense Ministry press service's report points out that the establishment of the press service does not have such a post as the director and that the service does not employ a member of staff with such a name as Melnychenko.

WASHINGTON POST Report Refuted*WS1712145193 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 1100 GMT 17 Dec 93*

[Text] Colonel Valeriy Izmalkov, member of the legislative commission for defense and state security, described as absolutely ungrounded reports published by THE WASHINGTON POST that Ukraine will soon decipher the operational codes of nuclear missiles stationed on its territory. The newspaper cited U.S. and Russian analysts. Valeriy Izmalkov stated that the nuclear missile operational codes have a protection system that makes it practically impossible to decipher. He underlined that the missiles are launched based on space photographs and not geographical maps. So retargeting the missiles would require extremely

complex calculations—something that only U.S. and Russian general staffs are capable of doing. Ukraine is not prepared for this. The deputy called the allegations about Ukraine deciphering nuclear codes a small link in a big chain of provocations against Ukraine. In this connection, Izmalkov also mentioned energetic actions by Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev in Brussels, who resorted to aggressive pressure against Ukraine and encouraged other states to do the same.

Japan Reportedly To Assist Financing of Nuclear Disarmament*LD1712122493 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0845 GMT 17 Dec 93*

[Text] Kiev [no date as received]—A UNIAN correspondent was informed at the Japanese Embassy in Ukraine that a working meeting of employees of the Foreign Ministries of Japan and Ukraine took place on 16 December about Japan's assistance in eliminating Ukrainian nuclear weapons. According to information of the embassy's secretary, Japan will finance nuclear disarmament of Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Russia irrespective of the assessments of the state's government or the manner of ratification of the START I Treaty by Ukraine. The total sum, which Japan is currently planning to spend on these four states comes to \$100 million. But a final decision regarding Ukraine's share has not been adopted yet.

Ukraine Courts U.S. in Wake of START Ratification**Observer on U.S. Attitude***WS1512110593 Kiev RADA in Ukrainian 9 Dec 93 pp 1,2*

[Article by Oleksandr Dubyna: "Will American Sisyphus Disarm Us?"]

[Text] In a LOS ANGELES TIMES article dated November 23 1993, a high official representing the United States administration commented on the U.S.-Ukrainian negotiations on nuclear disarmament in the following way: "Our negotiations with Ukraine remind me of the tale about Sisyphus. When you think that you have managed to push the stone up the hill you suddenly realize that the stone is again lying at the foot of this hill."

Why does the American Sisyphus want to do this ungrateful work? It is not difficult to guess. Ukrainian missiles are targeted at the United States and can smash it in seconds. Given the unstable political situation that can go out of control at any time, the U.S. strategists do not exclude the possibility that a fervent Cossack can press a missile button just to frighten those Americans overseas.

Currently, Ukraine does not lay any claims to the United States: This state has not yet done anything good or bad to it. Next, if we even wanted to press this missile button we would be unable to do so because Russia controls 176 missiles and nuclear warheads stationed on the Ukrainian territory. No doubt, this situation disturbs Washington because the United States cannot guarantee that Russian chauvinists and nationalists dreaming of world domination will not come to power tomorrow. Americans cannot but notice the transformation of the Russian Government after the latest October events. Since then, the Russian Government has adopted a range of "strong" decrees including the

Russian military doctrine and Russian Foreign Intelligence Doctrine "Prospects for NATO Development and Russia's Interests."

Russian President Boris Yeltsin continues writing letters to Western leaders while Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev is enraged with Ukraine because it has ratified the START-I Treaty.

I would like to emphasize that the issue of Russian democratic chauvinism is not yet on the agenda, because the political situation is unstable. I would like to recall that the internal strengthening of Russia has always led to its foreign expansion. One more thing: Enormous Russian potential had always enabled it to quickly recover from various natural calamities. This happened in the 17th century, when Russia was almost enslaved by Poland in the Smolensk War (1633-1634). However, in some 20 years, Russia began waging military operations against Ukraine. One hundred years later, after Russia was defeated in the shameful Crimean war in 1853-1856, it strengthened its positions in the Balkans after a successful war with Turkey in 1877-1878. Again, after a disastrous civil war in 1918-1921, Russia began making claims on the international community.

Washington knows history all too well and ponders on the possibility of the revival of Russian international influence. If Ukraine does not overcome its critical financial situation by the time Russia regains its power, our state will lose its independence. If this happens, Ukrainian nuclear missiles will become Russian property; however, they will be directed at the United States. This explains why Washington Sisyphuses are aiming at the destruction of Ukrainian missiles as soon as possible.

Moscow supports Washington Sisyphuses in conducting their negotiations with Ukraine because, first, Russia could appropriate Ukrainian strategic nuclear arms, and, second, Russian strategists are anxious that the Ukrainian party could retarget its missiles from the United States at Russia. It was not accidental that when Ukraine slowed down the process of disarmament in spring, the Russian mass media launched a wild campaign claiming that Ukraine could acquire control over nuclear missiles. Does this mean that Russia thinks that a nonnuclear state could be easily subordinated? I want to underline that if things go this way, the United States will be unable to guarantee our security. By the way, they are not going to do it at all.

U.S. State Secretary Warren Christopher put it quite clearly when he visited Kiev in October. His joint press conference with Ukrainian Foreign Minister Zlenko went like this:

[Christopher] At first, you should disarm, then you will get money.

[Zlenko] At first, you give us money, next, we begin disarming.

We require an enormous sum of money—some \$2.8-5 billion. Will the American Sisyphus grant us this money? I doubt it. That means that Ukraine will continue to preserve nuclear arms on its territory. It is senseless asking Russia to pay us compensation.

As for Washington, I think that it will at last come to the conclusion that nuclear disarmament requires joint efforts. It is absurd to do this work alone.

Ambassador Speaks in Washington

AU1512145493 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER
in Ukrainian 14 Dec 93 p 3

[Report by the Press Service of the Ukrainian Embassy in the United States and UKRINFORM: "News Conference of the Ukrainian Ambassador in the United States"]

[Text] Ukraine's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary in the United States Oleh Bilorus spoke at a news conference in Washington on issues of nuclear disarmament following the ratification of START-I by the Ukrainian Parliament.

Even with the reservations made by Ukraine's Supreme Council, said Oleh Bilorus, the parliament's decree on the ratification of START-I opened up new possibilities for the practical implementation of Ukraine's international obligations on the destruction of nuclear weapons on its territory.

At the same time, Oleh Bilorus stressed the special position occupied by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, who insists on a new discussion and ratification by a future new parliament of START-I complete with the Lisbon Protocol on Nuclear Nonproliferation.

Kravchuk Meets With U.S. Envoy

LD1512194793 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian
1440 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev, [no date as received]—Leonid Kravchuk, president of Ukraine, met William Miller, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United States to Ukraine, at his request in the evening of 14 December. According to official information, aspects of bilateral relations were discussed, and so was further economic cooperation regarding implementation of the instructions of the Supreme Council of Ukraine on ratification of the START I Treaty.

To a question from an UNIAN correspondent, Viktor Stelmakh, press secretary of the president of Ukraine, replied, that "the meeting was of an essentially confidential nature and not a single agreement was signed." The U.S. Embassy in Ukraine refused a request to comment on the results of this conversation, referring to a lack of authority on the part of the embassy's leadership.

Anton Buteyko, head of the service of the president of Ukraine on international issues, who was present at the talks, explained that the meeting had been brought about by the telephone conversation between Leonid Kravchuk and [U.S. President] Bill Clinton regarding ratification of the START I Treaty. William Miller and Leonid Kravchuk discussed the course of implementation of accords on the matter of nuclear disarmament and ways of improving economic cooperation and exchanged opinions on a wide range of issues. The U.S. ambassador reported on America's attitude to the ratification of the START I Treaty.

The diplomatic circles of the world are noting the equivocal reaction of the American leadership to Ukraine's attitude to nuclear disarmament. In particular, commenting on the talks of U.S. Vice-President Albert Gore in Kyrgyzstan, U.S. information agencies are stressing that Kazakhstan and Belarus recently ratified the Nuclear Non-Proliferation

Treaty. Western commentators are venturing the opinion that [a visit] to Kiev is not envisaged among the planned visits of the U.S. President and Vice-President for the near future namely because Ukraine's stance is different from the Belarusian and Kazakh stance. They have a calmer attitude to this matter at the Ukraine Ministry of Foreign Affairs. One of the employees of the foreign policy department commented, "This is normal diplomatic practice, acceptable in all states. Remember if you will the postponement of Boris Yeltsin's visit to Japan or the visits of the presidents of Romania and Bulgaria to Ukraine."

Kravchuk Confirms 'Nuclear-Free' Pledge to Gore

*AU1812165593 Budapest MTI in English
1639 GMT 18 Dec 93*

[Text] Budapest, December 18 (MTI)—Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, who arrived in Hungary to attend Prime Minister Jozsef Antall's funeral today, held talks with U.S. Vice President Al Gore in Budapest.

Kravchuk told MTI that the negotiations had focused on bilateral ties. The politicians outlined their position on the START-I Treaty and the elimination of nuclear weapons.

Kravchuk stressed that they held identical views on the main issues. Ukraine confirmed its commitment to become a nuclear-free state. This would solve a lot of problems for both Ukraine and the whole world, he said.

The Ukrainian president stressed the need for a trilateral agreement to be concluded between Ukraine, Russia and the United States. If this agreement guarantees political, economic, scientific and technical cooperation, it will be as important as the previous bilateral agreements were, namely it will contribute to the destruction of nuclear weapons, the president said.

Kravchuk and Gore agreed that Ukraine's economic crisis could be eased through bilateral and multilateral cooperation.

In conclusion, the Ukrainian president said he was satisfied with the negotiations.

Kravchuk Dissatisfied With Parliament's START-I Decision

Wants a 'Return to the Issue'

*LD0212220593 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1934 GMT 2 Dec 93*

[Excerpt] Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk has stated he was unsatisfied with the parliament's decision on the ratification of the START I treaty. In November, the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet ratified the treaty with numerous reservations.

"Taking into account our capabilities, positions and obligations, we must return to the issue and make an adequate decision," he stressed. "I cannot see why we cannot join the nuclear nonproliferation treaty." "We cannot be a state everyone would point at with his finger," he added.

Speaking at a scientific and research institute in Kiev today, Kravchuk pointed out that if the world community gave up its practice of applying pressure upon Ukraine on nuclear

disarmament, the issue might be solved even faster. "Experience shows us that threats and sanctions are apparently not the best way to solve such complex issues," he pointed out.

The president supposed Kiev will manage to agree on the technical maintenance of its nuclear missiles with Moscow next year. [passage omitted]

Will Resubmit START I Treaty to Supreme Council

*LD0212192893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service
in Russian 1848 GMT 2 Dec 93*

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Mikhail Melnik for TASS]

[Text] Kiev, 2 Dec—"We do not have the right to halt the disarmament process if we wish to be regarded as a civilized state. Therefore, I intend to submit the START I Treaty again with my comments for examination by the Supreme Council," Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk told journalists today during his tour round a number of welfare facilities in the capital.

He also said that Ukraine would oppose Russia's being granted a peace-making mission in the republics of the former Soviet Union. The president of Ukraine stressed: "Each state should put its own house in order."

Foreign Ministry Officials Rebut Kozyrev Remarks

*LD0912230493 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian
2010 GMT 9 Dec 93*

[Text] Kiev, [no date as received]—Kostyantyn Hryshchenko, head of the directorate for control over armament and disarmament of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, and Ihor Kharchenko, head of the directorate for political analysis and prediction, held a meeting with journalists on 9 December, which was devoted to the consequences of ratification of START I. According to information from Kharchenko, Andrey Kozyrev, [Russian] minister of foreign affairs, "resorted to conscious distortion of several specific facts" at a recent briefing at the Russian Foreign Ministry. In particular, he maintained that Russia had supposedly virtually received agreement to conduct peacemaking actions on the territory of the former USSR, although really only the necessity of carrying out peacemaking actions in general was stressed at the CSCE session in Rome. It does not correspond to reality that CSCE ministers supposedly unanimously condemned aggressive nationalism, and also that one had supposedly managed to isolate Ukraine from the world because of its stance regarding nuclear disarmament, [no closing quotation marks as received]—noted Kostyantyn Hryshchenko. According to information from the Ukrainian diplomats, Russia itself in fact ended up in isolation after it was to blame for disrupting the signing of a package of documents in the sphere of defense planning, which suited all of the delegations apart from the Russian one. The Ukrainian diplomatic corps links the latest statements by the Russian foreign minister with the clear line of Russia's government, which was previously concealed and was made out to be the opinion of parliament. A UNIAN correspondent has learned that Borys Tarasyuk, deputy minister of foreign affairs, made observations on 8 December regarding the

Kozyrev's position, when Tarasyuk stressed that it is Russian President Boris Yeltsin's idea to divide the Black Sea Fleet.

Ambassador to Austria on START I Ratification

*LD071222793 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service
in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 7 Dec 93*

[Text] A news conference on the subject "A nuclear Ukraine and European security" took place at Ukraine's embassy in the Republic of Austria. It was conducted by Yuriy Kostenko, the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Ukraine in Austria. Addressing foreign journalists, he noted that ratification by the Supreme Council of Ukraine of the START I Treaty and the Lisbon Protocol, opens realistic possibilities for Ukraine progressing along the path to nuclear disarmament. The international community, stressed the ambassador, should understand and realistically assess the huge difficulties of a political, economic, technical, and ecological nature, which are arising before the young independent state in the process of elimination of the powerful nuclear potential inherited from the former Soviet Union.

Official Wants State Control of Missiles After Russian Poll

AU1412145093 Paris AFP in English 1434 GMT 14 Dec 93

[By Paola Messana]

[Excerpts] Kiev, Dec 14 (AFP)—Ukraine said it might ask Russia to hand over the codes for the nuclear weapons stationed on its territory following the success by ultra-nationalist leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy in parliamentary polls Sunday, a senior parliamentary official said Tuesday [14 December].

Igor Dirkatck, an influential member of the Parliamentary Defence Committee, told AFP that Ukraine "must seek to obtain the codes enabling it to control the nuclear missiles stationed on its territory to meet the threat to its security represented by Zhirinovskiy."

"Zhirinovskiy and the Communist Party want to restore the Soviet empire and bring Russia back to its pre-1917 frontiers," he charged.

Ukraine possesses 130 strategic SS-19 multiple-warhead missiles, mostly obsolete according to experts, along with 46 modern SS-24 missiles.

Though declaring its long-term intention to become a non-nuclear state, ratifying the START-I treaty on nuclear disarmament signed in July 1991 by the United States and the Soviet Union, it has so far refused to give up the SS-24s.

Ukrainian leaders have said previously that they could obtain the nuclear codes "but had no wish to." [passage omitted]

Earlier, parliamentary foreign affairs spokesman Dmitri Pavlichko said that Sunday's vote showed Russia was "far from being a democracy" and that Ukraine was right in hesitating to give up its nuclear arsenal.

"I hope that after these elections the (international) community will better understand Ukraine's positions with regard to disarmament." The Russians have "shown their irresponsibility," he commented.

And Ukrainian Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Tarasyuk said he was concerned over the vote by sailors of the Black Sea fleet who voted 19 percent in favour of Zhirinovskiy's party compared with 11.5 percent for Russia's Choice, the party headed by Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar and which strongly backs President Boris Yeltsin and his reform program.

"That must push us on to resolving the question of sharing out this fleet between Ukraine and Russia," he said. "The forces who voted for Zhirinovskiy are on our territory." [passage omitted]

U.S. Inspection Group Views Military Equipment Destruction

*LD0912224293 Kiev UNIA in Ukrainian
1620 GMT 9 Dec 93*

[Text] Kharkov, 9 Dec—A U.S. military inspection group headed by Colonel Gallagher is in Ukraine. The American inspectors visited the Kharkov armored vehicle repair plant, where they observed the process of destruction of military equipment.

GERMANY**Arms Control Efforts****Foreign Minister Launches Initiative**

*LD1512131293 Berlin DDP in German
1124 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[Text] Bonn (DDP)—Germany's Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel has launched a German initiative aimed at combating the threatened proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. A 10-point paper published today by the Foreign Ministry in Bonn calls on all those states which have not yet signed the nuclear nonproliferation treaty or conventions on biological and chemical weapons to do so without delay. In addition, the treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons should be extended indefinitely from 1995.

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe should be augmented to become a model for the regional nonproliferation of nuclear weapons which could also serve as a model for other regions. In addition, the German initiative envisages international cooperation in the area of export controls. The Foreign Ministry also urges greater support, including financial aid, for disarmament programs in the CIS.

Plutonium coming into circulation as a consequence of disarmament should in the future be monitored by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). The United Nations should compile a nuclear weapons register to create a better overview of the number of nuclear weapons in existence. The German Government also reaffirmed its call for a worldwide and comprehensive agreement against nuclear testing.

The Foreign Ministry paper also points out that in a basic resolution the UN Security Council described the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction as a threat to international security and peace. This gives the Security Council scope to impose the appropriate coercive measures.

Ukraine Reports on Proposal

*WS1612132193 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program
Network in Ukrainian 1100 GMT 16 Dec 93*

[Text] Ukraine, Russia, Belarus, and Kazakhstan can count on assistance of the German Government in the sphere of disarmament. This can be concluded from a program presented by German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel in Bonn. He proposed that the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, whose validity ends in 1995, become unlimited and that all nuclear states join it. Klaus Kinkel said that his government was ready to extend various forms of aid, including financial, to the four CIS countries. It should be mentioned that Ukraine has recently made an important step in this direction by ratifying START I and the Lisbon Protocol.

Bonn Provides Chemical Weapons Monitoring Equipment

*LD2312224793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service
in Russian 1517 GMT 23 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksey Korinenko]

[Text] Berlin, 23 Dec—A mobile laboratory, necessary for carrying out effective environmental monitoring measures during the destruction of chemical weapons, was today handed over to representatives of Russia's Defense Ministry. It will be deployed in Saratov Oblast as early as the beginning of January 1994.

The total cost of the equipment being handed over is reckoned to be 130 million marks. With its assistance, it is possible to detect even an insignificant quantity of chemical substances by means of conducting physical and chemical analyses. In other words, the laboratory raises the safety level significantly in the course of destroying poisonous chemical substances. Furthermore, the German side is providing courses to train Russian specialists in the latest methods of monitoring the environment in sites where chemical weapons are being destroyed.

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